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A Journal of Opinion

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The Attack in Italy

The powerful Allied drive against the Germans' Gustav line in Italy was not, as the Nazi radio said, intended to be simultaneous with the invasion from England, but all signs indicate that the two events will not be widely separated in time. It is a symbol of the Allies' present power that they can launch a great offensive in Italy on the eve of one or many offensives around the rim of Western Europe. The first few days of the new drive in Italy seemed to go well, but we should not underrate the difficulty of the task. The Germans have had plenty of time to choose their ground, in mountainous country where the attacker is at a heavy disadvantage; they still have enough men and equipment to give us a hard fight. We must expect to pay a heavy price here, as we shall wherever our men land.

The Warning to the Satellites

The United States, Great Britain and Russia have issued a stern and final ultimatum to the people of Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Finland. These have been told to force their governments out of the war now, or take the consequences. Even immediate surrender will not mean a soft peace; but the longer they stay in the war, the worse the results for them. We doubt whether any of these four countries will quit the war because of this warning; probably they cannot, without having thousands of their people slaughtered by the occupying German troops. Nevertheless the ultimatum is good psychological warfare—and the Allied propaganda machine will make sure that the people of the four countries concerned hear plenty about it.

Exit Martin Dies

Reynolds, Starnes, Sweeney, the opponents of Pepper and Hill, Rush Holt—and now, Martin Dies! Things are certainly looking up, for the progressives. We can't pretend to read Dies's mind, and say just what caused him to withdraw from the race for renomination. We do know, however, that with the influx of labor into his district, his chances of success this year seemed dim.

Dies may not have been the worst member of Congress, but the competition was certainly close. His Committee on Un-American Activities was started at a time when the country badly needed to know the facts about our enemies within; but because of Dies's personality, attitude and habits of work, his committee never did the job. He told us next to nothing that we didn't already know about extremists on either the Right or the Left. Instead, he went in for wholesale smearing of liberals of all varieties, by way of oblique attack on his great *bête noire*, President Roosevelt. A favorite trick of his was to wait until a New Dealer was running for office and then publish an attack on him, mostly made out of whole cloth, just before the election, when there was no time to answer him. Dies has never understood the principles of fair play or of Anglo-Saxon justice which assumes a man innocent until he has been proved guilty. We hope, now that he is gone, that Congress will put his committee where it richly deserves to be: the ash can.

Western Europe and Russia

General de Gaulle fluttered the dovecotes of Washington and London the other day by a very friendly reference to Russia—though not quite so friendly as

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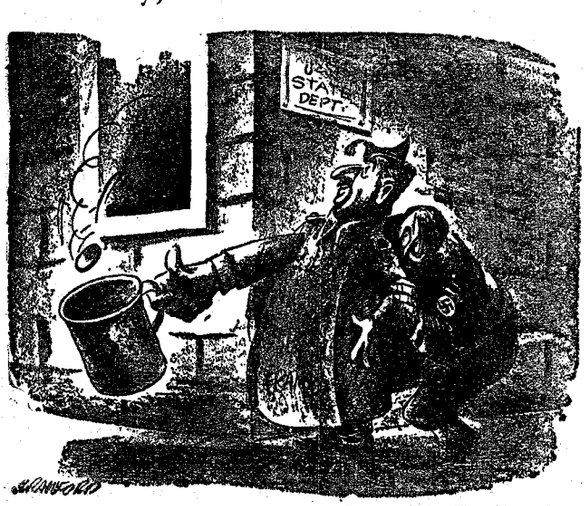
it seemed to the reporters, who mistranslated *la chere et puissante Russie* as meaning more than the routine expresssion of amity it really conveys.

In fact, however, de Gaulle does feel friendly to Russia, and why shouldn't he? Moscow was the only government to give his committee full recognition. This was done months ago, while even yet Great Britain and the United States can't make up their minds to what extent the French Committee will be permitted to act as the government behind our lines in France. Only last week, we cut off code communication between the French in London and those in Algiers; and when the French complained, we told them naïvely that we couldn't understand their protest, since they were on an equal footing in this regard with Sweden, Switzerland, Portugal and Spain!

When Czecho-Slovakia signed a treaty with Russia, London and Washington were unhappy; but what do they expect the Czechs to do, in view of the fact that neither Great Britain nor the United States is prepared to guarantee Czecho-Slovakia against attack as Russia has done? If we keep on as we are now going, neither Great Britain nor the United States will have any substantial influence on the continent of Europe, except that of sheer weight. The State Department and the Foreign Office are so desperately timid, so desperately conservative, that everything they do seems to most of the European people either neutral or deliberately hostile to their wishes. We create a vacuum into which Moscow is bound to rush even if it didn't wish to—and the Russians, hard-headed realists who are concerned almost solely with their own future security, don't at all mind moving forward while we hesitate or retreat.

Isolationism in Wisconsin

Some profoundly disturbing things happened in Wisconsin last week. When Wendell Willkie was defeated in that state, we were told it was not an isolationist victory; and a number of facts seemed to substantiate that view. But if the state as a whole is not isolationist, the La Follette Progressives and the Republicans certainly are. Senator Robert La Follette has bolted the New Deal and taken with him the lingering remnants of the Progressive Party. The Progressive state convention adopted an isolationist platform. So did the Wisconsin Republicans. Says Turner Catledge of The New York Times, a careful and conservative reporter: "Not only by their platform declaration, but even more by their behavior, the Republican delegates dropped the caution of their fellow partisans in neighboring Illinois and raised isolationism, or nationalism, as the standard for the campaign. The same seemed true also of the Progressives. . . . The pulling power of isolationism, or nationalism, in Wisconsin is not discounted now by anyone who knows the politics of this state."



Crawford in The Newark Evening News

The Handout

Who Speaks for the Republicans?

Governor Dewey, a fortnight ago, made a good internationalist speech before the American Newspaper Publishers' Association. The question now is whether he or Wisconsin represents the true trend of Republican thinking. If he is elected, shall we see a repetition of the Harding episode, when some Republican leaders promised internationalism and then still more powerful leaders vetoed it, once their candidate was in power? Is Bob La Follette getting on the bandwagon, preparing to rejoin the Republicans and trying to repair the political fortunes of himself and his brother Phil, which are now reported from Wisconsin to be at a low ebb? Bob La Follette is now third-ranking Republican member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The two senior members are Johnson and Capper, aged 78 and 79, both in frail health. La Follette as a Republican would probably be chief member of his party in shaping postwar policy; if the Republicans were to carry Congress this fall, he would be chairman of the committee.

While the Republicans and the Progressives were turning their faces backward, Wisconsin Democrats looked to the future, with a platform promising unwavering support to the efforts to make this the last war. It looks increasingly as though Howard McMurray, now one of the ablest and most liberal Democratic members of the House, would run for the Senate this year. In the primaries, he did better than the best of the Dewey men, who was a conspicuous isolationist. We hope that in the final test the Wisconsin voters will not repeat the mistakes of last time.

A Priest Goes to Moscow

The juiciest story of the year is that of the Reverend Stanislaus Orlemanski, the Polish American priest from Springfield, Massachusetts. Father Orlemanski was troubled about the future of Poland, and especially about the future of the Roman Catholic Church there.

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What more natural, then, than that he should go to Moscow and talk to Stalin about it? So he did. But Stalin did not merely want to assure Father Orlemanski that Catholics in Poland would not be persecuted; he wanted to make it universal within all territories of the USSR or influenced by it. And Stalin was not satisfied to give verbal assurances, but insisted on putting it in writing. He also gave Father Orlemanski important information about the whole future of Poland itself, not yet made public as these words are written. On the face of the record, it would seem as though Father Orlemanski was the greatest benefactor of the Catholic Church in this generation; and this theory seems to be confirmed by the fact that the Church is punishing him severely, having suspended him from all his duties. The blood of its martyrs is proverbially the seed of the Church. We wait with breathless interest for the next chapter of this movie thriller.

Meeting in Philadelphia

Just what did the Philadelphia Conference of the International Labor Organization really amount to? It is impossible to answer that question fully now, and perhaps for a long time to come. The conference was handicapped by the absence of Russia and by the admission of delegates from some countries with fascist leanings, such as the Argentine. The labor delegates were in all cases heavily outvoted by the combined force of government and employer groups who usually (but not invariably) stood together. Like all international conferences, it began with nationalistic hostility and general timidity, both of which were ameliorated somewhat as the delegates got down to business.

In the closing days, the delegates sent a message to the enslaved people of Europe, telling them the hour of liberation is at hand. They agreed, on the suggestion of Australia, to call another conference soon on the question of employment. It was also agreed that a general conference like the Philadelphia meeting should be summoned whenever serious unemployment begins to manifest itself on an international scale.

A Model Program

Most important of all, the social program submitted by the United States delegation was adopted by the conference as a whole with a recommendation that it be embodied in the peace treaty after this war, or possibly in some other treaty negotiated even sooner. In broad and sweeping terms, this program demands jobs for everybody, high standards of living, the universal right of collective bargaining, cradle-to-grave protection against calamities beyond the individual's control, through unemployment insurance, old-age pensions and adequate medical care. High standards were also demanded in regard to child welfare, education, nutrition and housing.

It would be easy to smile at these high-sounding ideals as just another case of a paper utopia—easy, wrong and unfair. Admittedly, the world is a long way from achieving these goals; but it is all to the good that we should have a mark to shoot at. Fulfilment of these aims is probably incompatible with the so-called free-enterprise system, which has never yet succeeded in maintaining continuous prosperity; but free enterprise, along with everything else, can be changed to accord with changing realities. On balance, the ILO has done a good and useful job.

Let the Indians Come In

The United States has at last rectified its long-standing insult to the Chinese people. They are not now excluded from this country as immigrants; instead, they may come in under the quota, to a possible maximum of 105 per year. Now it is high time that we should do as much for the people of India (whose quota would be 70 per year). All the arguments that applied to the Chinese are just as valid regarding the Indians. They are our allies in the war; their soldiers are fighting gallantly in Italy, India and Burma, and have already fought gallantly in other quarters. A bill has been introduced in Congress to wipe out this unjust discrimination. We hope it is promptly passed.

Thought Control for Chinese Students

American colleges are deeply exercised over the new limitations the Chinese government is invoking against Chinese students in this country; and with good reason. China has said in effect that no student will be permitted to stay here who doesn't see eye to eye with Chungking. This is "Thought Control" with a vengeance. No doubt China does not want to help young Chinese communists through American colleges, only to see them go back home and engage in activities hostile to the Kuomintang; but she has certainly thrown out the baby with the bath, and needlessly affronted American democratic principles at a moment when she badly needs all the friends she can get.

The Famine in India

A recent issue of The New Statesman and Nation (London) has some harrowing details regarding the famine in India. Conditions are now much better, and Richard Casey, Governor of Bengal and formerly the representative of Australia in Washington, expresses the belief that the famine will not recur. (Other well informed persons, however, consider that some return of famine conditions is likely this summer.) That much of the loss of life was needless is the conclusion drawn from a special report in the columns of an Indian daily newspaper, The Calcutta Statesman. The national, provincial and municipal governments of India, Bengal and Calcutta vied with each other in complacency, procrastination and inefficiency. Bureaucrats got snarled

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in red tape; food merchants profiteered shamelessly (even now the price of rice, the staple diet of the province, is up 500 percent). Although anyone should have seen catastrophe approaching, the government of India waited a whole year after the Japanese took Burma, the main source of rice for Bengal, before it worried about food. Then it set up a bureau which did little except to issue pamphlets which, in the style of Eric Johnston, glorified "free enterprise." The government says about a million died; the London weekly thinks the total will be closer to three millions, as cholera, malaria and smallpox follow in the wake of starvation. Whole areas are almost depopulated; sometimes the survivors are too weak to bury the dead, and leave them to the competition of dogs and vultures. Almost the only bright spot in the picture is the rescue work of the British army. The New Statesman makes the interesting point that the Indians might have pulled themselves together and done better, except that nearly all their best leaders were in jail. All in all, it is a tragic record.

Business-as-Usual in Italy

In September, 1916, Mussolini was still a Socialist, still against the war. As editor of Avanti, he wrote: "We are watching a sentimental farce staged by France and Belgium." But Mussolini was smarting under the enmity of the genuine socialist leaders. He was looking for a way out, and he said as much to friends who subsequently proved indiscreet. A liberal newspaper, the Resto del Carlino, showed him up brutally, and Mussolini saw himself in serious danger. Avanti had dropped him: he needed a paper of his own. The liberal paper was controlled at the time by a smart—a very smart—business man who knew the ins and outs of international intrigue: his name was Filippo Naldi, and Mussolini was asked to see him. The two got together, and the result of their agreement was a new paper, the Popolo d'Italia, which started an all-out pro-war campaign. It was to remain Mussolini's personal organ as long as he remained in power. It is widely believed by insiders that the French government was actively interested in supporting Mussolini and that Naldi was a party to this affair. At any rate, later on he was certainly one of the brain-trusters of the conservative group who got Mussolini into power, erroneously expecting to manage him easily for their own ends. But when Mussolini seized control of the state, Naldi realized he was in a dangerous position: he knew too much. His role during the Matteotti crisis is not clear, but it would appear that he tried to reëstablish himself by helping Mussolini out of the jam. However, Italy had become unhealthy for him, and he adjourned to the more salubrious climate of France, where he has lived obscurely ever since.

Why are we digging up this ancient bit of *chronique scandaleuse*? Because the wheel has come full circle, and recently it was reported that Naldi had been made Press Chief of the Badoglio Cabinet. But the position was too conspicuous; so many eyebrows were raised that he retreated discreetly into his habitual post of Grey Eminence and close unofficial adviser. He is safer like that, and possibly more influential. There could be no clearer sign of the restoration of normality to the European continent.

Why Sewell Avery Is Wrong

THE WINNING of a majority by the established union in the NLRB election in the Montgomery Ward plant in Chicago, and the removal of government control, did not, as President Roosevelt predicted it would, end the controversy. Sewell Avery, chairman of the company, still refuses to sign the contract with the union in this establishment, as well as with unions representing the employees in other plants owned by the company, in spite of orders to do so by the War Labor Board, because the contracts in question contain the "maintenance-of-membership" clause. This provision he denounced before the original contract with the union was signed over a year ago, though at that time he surrendered to what he called "duress" exercised by the President in his legal duty to maintain the authority of the War Labor Board. This time he apparently intends to defy the order to the end.

Mr. Avery, as well as most of his supporters in the press and on the floor of Congress, identify the maintenance-of-membership clause with the closed shop, and assert virtuously that they will not be a party to compelling workers to join a union or to remain members of one in order to get or keep their jobs. This argument is plain misrepresentation. A closed shop, in its most extreme form, is one in which every eligible employee must be a member of the union, and in which the employer must do his hiring from among union members. A less extreme form, usually called the preferential union shop, is one in which the employer may hire non-members if he can obtain none of equal competence from the union, but in which any employee hired must become a union member. The maintenance-of-membership clause does not require the employer to hire union members or even to give preference to them in hiring, and does not require any employee to become a member of the union. It merely states that those who are members at the time of signing shall remain members for the life of the contract. Even these have a fifteen-day period of grace to resign from the union, without jeopardy to their jobs, if they wish to do so. They may also abandon the union at the expiration of the contract, before it is renewed.

What is the origin of this provision, and what are the reasons for it? In order to understand it, one must first understand the arguments for the closed shop it-

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self, as well as those for the open shop, which are so frequently publicized. Unions argue that they are responsible to the employer and the public for enforcing the contract, stabilizing working conditions and maintaining production so long as the contract is in effect. They cannot exercise the necessary discipline—over outlaw strikes or minor stoppages, for instance—unless the employer will coöperate with them by refusing to employ non-members, or those who may be expelled. They also fear, as the result of many bitter experiences, that without a closed or union shop, the employer may undermine their power to protect their members and ultimately the union's existence, by replacing union men or women with non-union. As long as a struggle over the very existence of the union is carried on, there cannot be good feeling in the establishment, production will suffer, and there is no basis for the many constructive possibilities of union-management coöperation. An agreement by the employer to maintain a union shop is a guarantee by him that he has no wish to try to destroy the union, and it is therefore the foundation of good relationships.

That these arguments are not mere idle vaporings, in spite of occasional abuse of the closed shop, is proved by the fact that there are now voluntary agreements by employers to maintain the closed or union shop, covering some 6,500,000 workers. While a few unions, like the Railroad Brotherhoods, do not desire the closed shop, it is a widespread aim, not only among the officials but among the rank and file of unions generally. Many a bitter strike has been fought for it.

Many demands for the closed shop faced the war labor adjustment machinery at the beginning, and it was entrusted with the duty of settling all disputes of whatever nature, in order to avoid interruptions of production. The President said that he would not enforce the closed shop on any employer or any group of workers. On the other hand, to order the open shop, thus giving anti-union employers the opportunity to undermine the very existence of the organization, was inconsistent with the pledge asked of the unions not to strike. The maintenance-of-membership clause was worked out in mediation of a particularly bitter dispute over this issue—the Snoqualmie Falls strike—in which both sides maintained their positions with the stubbornness that comes from deep conviction. Nevertheless the clause was voluntarily accepted by both. On the one hand, it assured the union that those who wished to bargain through it would not be victimized, while on the other it assured the employer that if he observed this condition he might hire whom he pleased, and need not compel anyone to join the union to get a job.

This clause has ever since been stoutly maintained against denunciation from both sides—for instance, against the steel companies who called it a closed shop, and against John L. Lewis, who called it an open shop, and wrecked the original Defense Mediation Board over the issue. The War Labor Board has established it in the cases of 1,750,000 workers, and it has been voluntarily accepted by unions and employers in negotiation in the cases of 2,000,000 workers. It would upset one of the chief bases of the war labor truce to let a single recalcitrant employer destroy it now. There is literally no substitute for it. Without it, the field would be thrown open for a series of hard-fought struggles over the very existence of unionism.

It should be borne in mind also that the Board will not install even this mild form of protection of the unions except when the organization concerned is responsible and democratic. The union, in order to win it, must have a reputation for observing its no-strike pledge; it must hold regular elections and must audit and publish its accounts. Thus the provision is safeguarded against any abuse by labor racketeering.

The objection to the clause on the part of its more moderate opponents is that it does not maintain the status quo of union organization which existed before the war. In other words, it gives workers an opportunity to organize and stay organized while the war is on. According to this argument, neither unions nor employers should employ the war to alter their relative status. This sounds mechanically just. Those who argue in this way forget that the law is no longer neutral toward labor organization; the legal theory now is that collective bargaining is a desirable form of industrial government to deal with wages, hours and working conditions, and that any workers who desire to organize must be free from interference in doing so on the part of the employer. Mr. Frank P. Graham, public member of the War Labor Board, in a masterful opinion on the maintenance-of-membership issue, has written: "It is unfair to attempt to hold the unions fixed in the midst of a tremendous industrial expansion, unwise to try to hold them static in a dynamic industrial society and undemocratic to call a halt to the free development of organizations of workers in the midst of a war for freedom."

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The Conflict in Education

THERE IS TODAY mounting controversy over education and within education, and the one area of controversy feeds the other.

Business, always mildly concerned with "misinterpretations" within the schools, is actively out to curb public education both as a burden to the taxpayer and as a threat to the business formula that democracy and the private-enterprise system are one and the same thing. The spearhead in this movement is the National Association of Manufacturers, which has conducted an extensive heresy-hunt through social-studies textbooks and published its findings on each book for use by local advertising clubs and American Legion posts; and during the past two years has systematically held conferences with schoolmen in state after state to quicken educators' awareness of their stake in the private-enterprise system. During the past three months a group supported by advertising men has broadcast weekly, under the name Education for Freedom, Inc., an appeal for fundamentalism in education. Reading these signs of the times, the Progressive Education Association has abandoned its program of "individual" education for a new program that will adapt the child to society's needs; and President Sproul of the University of California has called for the "return to fundamentals, to the disciplined education of our students" under the theory that "freedom must always be exercised *under discipline*."

These pressures from without education are neither accidental nor unimportant. They reflect the basic ambivalence of liberal democracy and all its institutions in an era of strain and tightening controls by *de-facto* power. Coupled with the growing demand for utilitarian training of a technical and narrowly conceived vocational sort and with the mendicant role of the colleges because of wartime exigencies, they represent the most dangerous threat to liberal education in all our American experience.

But whatever the immediate threat from without, liberal education must find solutions for its own urgent problems if it is in the long run to rescue itself from these pressures.

Active search for these solutions had begun before the war. Conventional "liberal" education was challenged both by the St. John's College plan, devoted to its required Hundred Best Books and backed by the vocal Hutchins-Adler group at the University of Chicago, and by the experimental group which includes Antioch, Black Mountain, Bennington (in its early years) and Sarah Lawrence Colleges. The colleges in this second group differ widely among themselves, but they agree in their belief that education is the art of using knowledge to free imaginative and creative energies, and that individual development and social responsibility are indispensable to each other. Recently, there has been between the two groups more exchange of academic Billingsgate than of thought and experience on common educational problems. Charges of "anti-intellectual" and "contemporary trifler" from the St. John's side and of "medievalist" and "fascist" from the other may make good headlines, but they do not advance understanding of the question of what college education should be.

The present weaknesses in liberal education are obvious enough, and both groups of revivalists agree on them. They are textbook teaching, piecemeal knowledge resulting from an unguided elective system and from "prerequisites" for specialized training, and shoddy, inert knowledge which is not translated into wisdom and action. The sickness of our education has been the sickness of our society—contentment with countable units and with success as substitutes for coherence and profound values.

Not all the questions the educator must face are peculiar to our time. Certain questions are inherent in education any time, anywhere: How do we ensure that the interest essential for learning shall pass beyond sporadic whim and become sustained desire for understanding? How can discipline be so acquired that it aids the free use of powers rather than dulling imagination? How do we relate the psychological order of learning with the logical order of systems of knowledge? What is the relation between emotion and reason in the growing man? How can enduring truths be translated into present meaning?

Such questions will always elude final solution, for in each generation they re-ask themselves in terms of the conditions of that given time. But only the steady, insistent quest for their solution in terms of each generation can prevent education from degenerating into sterile rituals. Modern "progressive" educators started boldly on this quest; they dared to reverse the traditional knowledge-person relation and put the growing person and his needs first. In the early excitement of this venture they believed that putting the individual first solved all educational problems. Subsequent awareness that this is not the case has led some progressive educators to reverse direction and abandon emphasis on the central importance of individual growth. It is this failure of nerve, plus current external pressures, which led to the recent action of the Progressive Education Association. And such wavering in the progressive ranks makes it the more important for the colleges in the second group mentioned above to refuse to subscribe to the doctrine that there is a contradiction between concern with individual development and con-

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cern with society; and for them to give no ground in their exploration of the central question of liberal education—how education can help men and women to become free.

The St. John's-Hutchins group, prominent in the "Education for Freedom" broadcasts, also has as its aim the creation of free men and women. It is their selection of means to this end that I want to discuss here. Liberal education at St. John's consists in training students to think well through prescribed study of selected thinkers. But in electing this choice of means they have jumped at a ready and plausible solution—and by-passed the problem. St. John's undoubtedly gives a lively and valuable education to some students. But inflated claims in its behalf divert attention from issues which have to be faced; solutions that are reached by avoidance of fundamental questions are dangerously illusory.

The problem of student interest, crucial to the learning process, may not be dismissed, as it is by the proponents of the St. John's plan, by saying that interest *is* whim. Nor may one by-pass the problem of the relation of discipline to freedom by saying that discipline *is* freedom. The question of the relation between common symbols and individual differences cannot be evaded by saying that education consists *only* in the development of common symbols. It does not solve the most difficult of all problems, the relation between passion and reason, emotion and intellect, to say that there is no such distinction, that reason *is* the whole of man. The right words for discussion of any of these questions are hard to find, but the search for them is not helped by such avoidance and verbal sleight-of-hand. Yet all of these dodges have been used in the recent broadcasts by St. John's representatives. And their result is to rob the word "freedom" itself of any precise meaning and to make "education for freedom" just one more advertising slogan.

What this all amounts to is the resolution of problems by asserting that no problem exists, and by taking the part for the whole: Discipline is necessary; therefore discipline is the whole of education. Tradition is important; therefore education should concentrate on the past. Men are distinguished from other animals by their ability to reason; therefore rational power is the only important characteristic of human beings. Coherence in education is important; therefore one may achieve coherence by the simple process of fencing out vast areas of man's experience. Socrates was a great teacher; therefore nothing has been discovered about learning or teaching since Socrates. There are eternal truths; therefore education need have no concern but the reiteration of these truths.

The St. John's group want college education to be available for all students in a democracy. They insist that the St. John's required program, uniform for all students, is the *one* desirable kind of college education. But only by a naïve assumption that regards all men as alike in temperament and ability, and by ignoring all that has been perceived about individual differences from Protagoras to Comenius and to Lewin, can they blind themselves to the fact that they are actually insisting on education for a very narrowly conceived élite. To say that the necessary education for all men consists in the mastery of Aristotle's "Organon," Calvin's "Institutes" and one hundred other books is the prescription of an intellectual élite for its own self-perpetuation. The idea that recognition of differences is incompatible with democracy rests upon a fallacy that distorts our thinking at many points: namely, the assumption that recognition of differences involves value-judgments of "better" and "worse," and that if men are of equal worth they are identical and must be treated identically. Acting on such principles prevents even coming near to some of the basic problems of education and of democratic society.

This ignoring of individual differences deeply affects the attitude of the teacher toward his students and leads to what Whitehead has described as the chief evil to be avoided in education: "the cramming of general statements which have no reference to individual personal experiences." Actually on the St. John's campus these results are mitigated by the informal character of the college community, small discussion classes and easy, humorous relations between faculty and students. But if the required curriculum of the classics were to spread, and the statements of the St. John's leaders were to be taken literally, the effects inherent in the belief that the individual students do not need to be respected and that the writers of the Great Books do would become more apparent.

This belief makes it possible for the teacher to ignore the crucial distinction between, in John Pilley's words, "what people do and are responsible for, on the one hand, and what happens to them, or is done to them, on the other." And, having slurred over this point, it is possible to go on to blur the distinction between the discipline achieved under freedom which leads to greater freedom and that which results from obedience and may stifle freedom.

Actually statements of St. John's teachers habitually imply disparagement of any judgment or choice made by the student before he has submitted himself to the authority of the Great Books. At best the attitude toward the student is one of treating him as a *tabula rasa*, with no knowledge, no individual life history, no character before he comes to college that need to be taken seriously into account. At its worst the attitude is one of active disparagement of independent characteristics which mark the student off as an individual from his fellows. Individual desire is "a matter of chance and ignorance"; and independent individual choice—when it occurs in anyone who does not know the Great Books

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—is, as Stringfellow Barr has said, "the eternal smell of poor John's interests, eccentricities, lopsidedness, lamenesses, blind spots . . . crippling characteristics."

Liberal education can set men free. But freedom cannot be learned as a dogma. Students cannot learn to choose well from the choices of other people, even the best people. An elective system without guidance runs wild. But in education, as in society, dictatorship is not the only alternative to laissez-faire. Authoritarianism is no less authoritarian if it is the best authority. The issue is not between discipline and no-discipline but between the discipline which is obedience to authority and the discipline which is self-mastery.

Scorn of individual differences leads to despising human nature. Occasionally a St. John's spokesman refers to the "whole man," but this term is swiftly rendered innocuous by its being identified with "intellect" or "reason." The last thing St. John's is willing to do in educating men is to accept what Dostoevsky has called "the whole tumultuous consequences of their being human." President Hutchins and others who dominated the Education for Freedom program insist that "the essential aim of education" is "to extinguish" or "to suppress" "the mammal within us."

A further discrepancy between ends and means lies in the kind of emphasis the St. John's group gives to coherence and integration. They recognize that the essential incoherence in the usual college curriculum cannot be solved by adding on an extra "orientation" or "synthesizing" or "guidance" course in the hope that this will infuse unity into the atomism of the rest of the program. St. John's leaders carry out with the utmost consistency in certain aspects of their work their emphasis on unity: no teacher can be on the faculty who is not able to learn to teach any part of the program—mathematics, Greek, laboratory science, Dante or Goethe; languages are taught not as separate disciplines but as different approaches to the principles of language. One of the best features of the St. John's program is the way any axiom of geometry or problem of style is approached in terms of: Why, logically, did the writer believe this to be true? What was he trying to do? Why did he do it in this way? The essential logical relatedness of the different aspects of knowledge studied is constantly stressed.

But at certain crucial points where coherence is most important this integration breaks down, and a splitting apart of life is not only tolerated but encouraged. There is the effort to split off mind from body; to laud conscious at the expense of unconscious processes; to divorce intellect from desires and passions. This goes so far that there can be serious discussion of two entirely distinct kinds of experience: logic, which is appropriate to thought and involves no imagination, and imagination (independent of thought), which is appropriate to esthetic experience!

Education continues through life and only a limited number of things can be done in any four years. St. John's, like the other groups of liberal reformers, is less concerned with specific knowledge gained than with ways of acquiring and using knowledge. The St. John's program must be judged not by what it includes or omits but by the way in which its curriculum is taught. It is not necessarily a criticism of the St. John's curriculum that it contains nothing outside of the Western European tradition of thought; it is a criticism if that tradition is taught as if it were the only important tradition in the world, without constant awareness of other systems of human thought. It is not a criticism that there is no specific work in anthropology, and only isolated books in economics and psychology; it is a criticism that the books are read without the kind of insight that can come only from understanding of psychology, of economics and of comparative cultures. The great books are read with close analysis of the texts, but with a deliberate isolation of the writer and his thought from the social situation in which the book was written. The past is further splintered off from the present on the assumption that we can find coherent thought by turning to a supposedly more unified past, while contemporary thought and society are "too chaotic and difficult to understand."

Natural science is taught with full realization of the fact that it is not enough to learn the end products of a scientist's thought; it is necessary for understanding to go through the processes by which the conclusions were reached, and extensive and creative laboratory work makes this kind of understanding possible. But there is no recognition that if this sort of "learning through doing" is important in the natural sciences, it is equally essential in the humanities and social sciences. These are taught from books with no effort at learning from experience in social participation as did the writers of the books. According to President Hutchins, a college should maximize rather than minimize its separateness from the community. Finally, there is the split between ends and means in the attainment of freedom. "The ability to choose well" is the avowed end of education, but any freedom of choice is rigidly excluded from this four years of educational experience.

This confusion about the meaning of freedom among educators is dangerous at a time when outside pressures upon education urging the advantages of obedience, submission to authority, and compulsion are multiplying. Mark Van Doren, an enthusiast for the St. John's plan, asserts that all questions of college education are now answered except *how much* liberal education a student can take. But if we refuse to be deflected from the basic issues within education, we must face the far more difficult and fundamental question of *what kind* of liberal education will actually set men free. Both the St. John's group and the group which in-

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cludes Antioch and Sarah Lawrence should regard this question not as solved but to be solved. Two years ago many people feared that the inroads of the army and navy on students, coupled with the new wartime emphasis upon technical and vocational education, would make liberal education a casualty of the war. Without minimizing the serious threats to liberal education from outside, it must be recognized that its jeopardy is no less great from those within its own ranks who succumb to any education-by-formula. Education which calls itself liberal can be content with no such short-cut answer to the question: How can education help men to become free?

HELEN MERRELL LYND

Germany After Defeat

BEFORE I ENTER into a discussion of the fundamental principles involved in this question, I think it ought to be said that what I say about Germany, with certain modifications necessary under the difference in conditions, should serve as a model for both Japan and Italy, and perhaps for some of the Balkan countries, such as Rumania, Hungary and Bulgaria. It ought to be understood also that before the question of what we shall do with Germany can be properly answered, we must consider the wishes and desires of our allies, Russia and Great Britain, and particularly in the case of Japan, China. What I say in this article is an expression of my individual opinion as to what we ought to do with our present enemies after victory is attained, but assuming that my own country agrees with what I have here set down, we must still remember that the peace treaty will be, and ought to be, written by the United Nations, and these nations must be in agreement before the treaty is submitted to our enemies for signature.

I have tried to express my judgment in this article as to what would be just and fair. I realize that our government has not made the sacrifices that have been made by any of our allies. Russia has seen thousands of square miles of her territory destroyed and laid waste; her cities have been ruined and her people have been murdered and outraged to the extent of many millions. Many of the crimes against her people are unspeakable and wring the hearts of honorable and honest men and women everywhere in the world. It is estimated that more than twenty million of her citizens have died in the defense, not only of their country, but of the entire civilized world. Great Britain stood almost alone and fought Hitler to a finish after Dunkirk. Her people, civilians as well as soldiers, were murdered by German bombs. Millions of Chinese have died at the hands of Japanese soldiers.

It is true that England, Russia and China would not have been able to make the noble stand that they have made had it not been for assistance given them by our government under the Lend-Lease Act, but they were sacrificing their lifeblood and we were sacrificing dollars. We must, it seems to me, conclude that at the peace table these sacrifices and the heroic victories that have been attained must be given proper consideration. Great Britain must have a voice and her sacrifices and the noble defense that she has made against Hitler must be taken into consideration in the settlement of the various questions that will arise in establishing world peace. The same must be said of China, and perhaps with increased force of Russia. We are therefore only one of the nations whose combined efforts will bring the victory that we believe is soon to come, and at the peace table we must be prepared to sacrifice to our heroic allies and must willingly and generously admit that they have the same right to make demands and have their wishes considered as we.

First of all we must demand that Germany shall be disarmed, and that such disarmament shall be lasting and permanent. Of all the questions to be settled at the peace table, I regard this as the most important. It is fundamental, and no permanent peace can be established without disarmament. No nation can make war upon its neighbors unless it is armed to the teeth. There is no need to have armament, either offensive or defensive, unless there is to be war.

When Germany is disarmed there will be a time, perhaps extending over several years, when it will be necessary to keep careful guard to see that the pledge of disarmament is not violated, and at any sign that such violation is taking place we must be prepared with sufficient control over the internal affairs of Germany to ensure her pledge being kept to the letter. This will perhaps mean that for a time a small army, well armed, must be kept in her territory by the victorious nations. The disarmament must be complete: it must mean that she shall maintain no navy, no standing army, that her factories for the munitions of war must be absolutely and completely destroyed. She must have no submarines; she must not be allowed to make any war planes. I know it will be said that Germany will violate this pledge even though she makes it and that before we know it she will be again completely armed and ready for a war of aggression. It is said also that if she is allowed to build factories for the manufacture of automobiles, for instance, she can easily convert such establishments into factories that will make bombs and munitions of war, but she cannot do this if we see that the disarmament provisions of the treaty are enforced, by armed interference if necessary.

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Neither will this be a hardship to Germany. It will not be long until the maintenance of a standing army within the limits of her domain will be unnecessary. The treaty of peace would give the United Nations the right to appoint inspectors, who could travel all over the country with the power to investigate and immediately suppress any attempt at its violation.

This stipulation of disarmament should not only be contained in the treaty, but whatever government is established in Germany after the war should be required to adopt a written constitution in which Germany would pledge herself in good faith to carry out the stipulations of the treaty of peace, and it would not be many years until her people would see that the disarmament was for her benefit more than for the benefit of the victorious nations. Instead of her people devoting all their energies and all their abilities to building armaments and weapons of war, they would become concerned with movements to bring about a lasting and permanent peace, and before long they would hail with joy the day when they were compelled to disarm and no force would be necessary to keep them in that condition. Such a course would have an immediate effect upon the armament of the Allies. With the enemy completely disarmed, there would be no need for us to continue the terrible expenditures on our military machine and our armament would gradually decrease.

This treaty of peace should be followed by some sort of League of Nations or Association of Nations open to all countries, including Germany, who would pledge themselves to maintain this treaty in good faith, and providing for whatever force might be necessary to see that this was done. All nations should be admitted to this association on the basis of equality, and the right of such equality should be expressly and definitely maintained as a fundamental principle in the association. It should be distinctly stated that the superiority of any race to rule and control any other race was to be prohibited, and the doctrine of superiority of race should give way to an absolute equality of all nations and all members of such international association. This provision of the treaty establishing the doctrine of equality of peoples the world over would, I admit, present some very difficult problems, but for years Germany has been teaching her people that as soon as they emerge from the cradle they are better than other races and that they are therefore destined to rule the world because of their superiority. This doctrine must be completely eradicated, and Germany must admit in the peace treaty and in her established government that her people are not superior to the people of any other country; she must acknowledge the equality that ought to and must exist among the civilized nations of the world.

Germany should be required to repudiate all of her war debts. The machinery of her courts must not be used for the purpose of enforcing or collecting any such debt. The object of this is twofold. First: It is a punishment, a very severe punishment, to those who have risked their money to arm Germany and to keep her on a fighting basis. Second: It will relieve Germany of the payment of a vast amount of money and enable her to pay a larger amount into a fund that will go toward meeting the vast expenses that the United Nations have been compelled to make to defend themselves and the world against aggression and murder. We have a precedent for such a course in our own country. After the Civil War we adopted an amendment to the Constitution (Section 4, of Amendment 14), providing that "Neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void." Furthermore, Germany should be required to pay a reasonable amount from year to year into this fund to assist in retiring the debts that the United Nations have obligated themselves to pay.

I do not mean that Germany should pay all the expenses that the United Nations have incurred to defend themselves from her wrongful aggression and murderous conduct. She perhaps ought to do this, but such a course would be impossible without the enslavement of her people and we must be careful that we do not make demands that will bring this about. We are fighting to preserve the civilized world from slavery and we must therefore not take a course that would put our conquered enemies in the very condition which we are struggling to eradicate. The amount of her contribution would probably increase as her financial condition improves. We should put nothing in the way of her efforts to better her financial condition and to carry on commerce with the world and build herself up again in order that she might not only increase the happiness of her own people but make her contribution to this war fund without injury to her own citizens.

The commission that should be set up by the treaty should fix the amount from year to year, adjusting the sums to be paid as her ability to pay increased. She should not be burdened with a debt that would be unreasonable or impossible to meet. We should not attempt to relieve ourselves by making Germany pay the full debt that the United Nations have been forced to incur. To expect Germany to pay all of it would be to ask her to perform an absolute impossibility. We must not demand any payment from Germany that would prevent her people from enjoying the human freedom and liberty that we desire to extend over the entire world at the close of this war.

Finally, we must remember that this treaty of peace is not for the benefit of the living, but rather for unborn generations. It will be but a few years until those in control of governments today will have passed on

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and all government will be in the hands of men and women who are now unborn, and it is for their benefit, their happiness and their protection more than for our own that we have fought this war. We have dreamed of a peace that shall come to the world that will make war impossible, when all nations shall be friendly and all their difficulties shall be settled by peaceful means. When that time comes, which will be but a few years from now, we hope civilization will have so advanced that wars will be but a memory and that armament will become a thing of the past. In the meantime, while we must be firm with Germany in carrying out the stipulations of the treaty, we should fairly and honestly try to bring about a condition of absolute justice. We should carry out the provisions of the treaty in such a way as to bring as little humiliation to our enemies as is possible. One of the faults of the Versailles Treaty was that we did everything we could to humiliate Germany, and Hitler acted similarly when France surrendered in this war. We should let our enemies understand that what we want to do is to live in peace and harmony with them as our friends, and when an assembly of nations is formed, which will probably be at the close of this war, Germany should be admitted and given full membership. This is not because the Germans deserve it, but because it is necessary in order to establish a permanent peace.

At the end of the war Germany will find herself in a pitiable condition. To a very great extent her industries will be destroyed, her commerce will be ruined, her people will be starving. We should do all in our power to assist them in getting on their feet. We should be the good Samaritan. As far as possible we should feed the hungry and clothe the naked. Revenge and hatred should be driven out of our hearts and we should assist them in every possible material way.

This treaty of peace must be one without hate. There must be instilled into the hearts of our enemies the fact that their disarmament is necessary for the peace of the world. In every one of these enemy countries there are many thousands of people who are ready to coöperate and carry out such a program. It may be hard for us to carry out this program in this way. Remembering the outrages and the murders that have been committed under the Hitler rule, it will be difficult to drive hate and revenge out of our hearts, but it is our Christian duty to do this, to make this sacrifice in order to bring about the peace and the freedom of the new world. Such sacrifices on our part are absolutely essential and necessary when we remember that we are making the peace in the most part for innocent humanity that will soon be in control of world affairs.

GEORGE W. NORRIS

The War Is Too Big

AMONG THE OTHER IMPORTANT facts about this worldwide war is that it has grown too big for human comprehension. There are so many men fighting in so many ways, in areas remote from one another, that it is almost impossible for the mind to retain a picture of the whole conflict. In particular, deeds of heroism which in an earlier, simpler and smaller day would have given a basis for centuries of folklore, are rewarded with nothing at all, or with a few lines in a newspaper, perhaps a mention in orders which no civilian sees, couched in stiff military prose; a decoration given in front of a few of the hero's fellows; occasionally, if someone happens to mention it in a letter, articles in the home-town newspapers for a day or two.

I have recently been looking through some lists of American heroes of this war, and on the supposition that others may have memories as imperfect, or information as inaccurate, as my own has been, I should like to mention a few of them, taken more or less at random. My language in practically all cases is only a paraphrase of the official citation. I have omitted a few of the best known war heroes such as Colin Kelly, Meyer Levin, Dorrie Miller, Edward "Butch" O'Hare and Sergeant Kelly of Pittsburgh.

I doubt that you have ever heard, for example, of Flight Officer John C. Morgan, United States Army Air Corps, of Texas and New York, who participated in a bombing raid over continental Europe. The plane was attacked by enemy fighters, who destroyed the oxygen system serving the tail, waist, and radio gun positions, and inflicted a serious head wound on the pilot, leaving him in a crazed condition. Flight Officer Morgan struggled with the pilot and managed to keep the airplane in formation. The interphone had been destroyed, making it impossible to call for help. The waist, tail, and radio gunners were all unconscious from lack of oxygen, and not hearing their guns fired, Morgan believed they had bailed out. The top-turret gunner, severely wounded, fell down through the hatch leading to his turret. *For two hours* Morgan fought the half-unconscious pilot with one hand and flew the plane with the other, keeping the ship safely in formation. Then, for the first time, the navigator was able to enter the steering compartment and aid him. Morgan, now a Second Lieutenant, received the Congressional Medal of Honor and a citation which called his achievement "miraculous and heroic."

Then there was Johnnie Hutchins, son of a sharecropper family from Wharton County, Texas, a Sea-

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man, First Class, in the United States Navy. He was in the pilot house of a Landing Ship (Tanks) during the attack on Lae, New Guinea, in September, 1943. An enemy shell struck the vessel, destroying the pilot house and mortally wounding Hutchins. At the same moment an enemy torpedo was seen approaching. Although dying, Hutchins seized the wheel and swung it hard over, altering the course enough to make the torpedo miss the ship. He died at the wheel. Hutchins received the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Second Lieutenant Cecil Dulaney, United States Army Air Corps, from Carthage, Texas, deliberately sacrificed his own life to save that of another. Flying over mountainous country in Georgia, his engine stopped. He had a passenger, a sergeant, and ordered him to jump; but the sergeant's parachute became caught. Although the plane was losing altitude rapidly, "Lieutenant Dulaney remained at the controls until his passenger was able to kick his parachute pack loose and jump to safety." By then, the ship was too low for the pilot to bail out, and he was killed. He was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross.

First Lieutenant David Cominole, of the Air Corps, did the same thing. Flying near Cape Charles, Virginia, in a bomber, one of the fuel tanks caught fire. Lieutenant Cominole turned toward land and ordered all members of the crew to leave the ship, which he kept level long enough to make this possible, sacrificing his own life. He, also, was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross.

Still another man to do the same thing and get the same decoration was First Lieutenant Leslie Reece, of the United States Air Corps, who came from Minneapolis, Minnesota. Piloting a bomber which developed engine trouble near Belem, Brazil, Lieutenant Reece stayed with the ship long enough for the rest of the crew to jump, at the sacrifice of his own life.

Oscar Peterson, Chief Watertender, United States Navy, of Prentis, Wisconsin, served on the USS Neosho, which was attacked by Japanese planes. The ship was bombed and set on fire, and it became necessary for someone to close the bulkhead stop valves. Peterson, already burned, did this, receiving additional burns which resulted in his death. Posthumously, he received the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Sergeant José Calugas of the Field Artillery, a Filipino, enlisted from Fort Stotsenburg, P. I., and was on Bataan. The Japanese were heavily shelling a gun battery, putting one gun out of action and causing the cannoneers to seek shelter. Sergeant Calugas, who was the mess sergeant of another battery, went without orders 1,000 yards across an open area under heavy enemy fire and, with other volunteers, kept the battery firing. He received the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Early in May of this year, the newspapers reported an extraordinary piece of heroism in Aleutian waters. A naval patrol bomber made a forced landing on the water in the course of a severe storm; six survivors managed to get off in two rubber boats. They were found by a searching party of two other planes, which circled above them for seven hours in the midst of the storm, calling frantically for aid by a surface vessel. As night fell and it became evident that no other assistance was available, the pilot of one of the rescuing planes, Lieutenant Commander Frank R. More, of Sunbury, Pennsylvania, decided to land on the water for a rescue, regardless of the danger. As he started to come in, the pilot of the crashed plane, Lieutenant Newell Putnam Wyman of Canandaigua, New York, stood up and gave him the signal not to attempt a landing. Knowing that the chance of a successful landing was very small, and that in all probability he and his own crew would also perish, Commander More obeyed the signal. All the men on the rubber rafts died. There has not yet been time for decorations to be awarded, but it is safe to say that this will be done.

Harold Keahey is a Private in the Air Corps, who comes from Pickens, Arkansas. Wilson Smart is a Private in the Air Corps from Tebbetts, Missouri. They were both at Dow Field, Bangor, Maine, when an army airplane crashed and caught fire; the pilot, caught in the escape hatch, could not get out. Keahey and Smart, at the imminent risk of their lives, rushed through the flames and saved the pilot's life. Both of them received Soldier's Medals.

Fred Parler, a Corporal in the Air Corps, also received the Soldier's Medal, for doing the same thing at France Field, Canal Zone. He comes from Dorchester, South Carolina.

Peter Tomich came from Austria and was Chief Watertender on the USS Utah at Pearl Harbor. He was down in the engine room, where he belonged, when he realized that the ship was capsizing as a result of enemy action. Nevertheless he stayed where he was "until he saw that all boilers were secured and all fireroom personnel had left their stations." By then it was too late for him to escape. Peter Tomich was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor.

William Fournier is a Sergeant in the United States Infantry, from Winterport, Maine, who saw action on Guadalcanal, as leader of a machine-gun section which was attacked by a superior number of Japanese. His assistant gunner was wounded, his gunner killed and an adjoining gun crew put out of action. Ordered to withdraw, Sergeant Fournier refused to retire but rushed forward to the idle gun. With the aid of another volunteer, he held the machine gun up by the tripod to increase its field of action. They inflicted heavy casualties upon the enemy and helped to turn the tide of battle. Both men were killed; both received the Congressional Medal of Honor. The other man was Technician Fifth Grade Lewis Hall, of Wellston, Ohio.

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Ensign John Parle, United States Naval Reserve, of Omaha, Nebraska, took part in the surprise attack on Sicily in a Landing Ship (Tanks). During the landing a smoke-pot was accidentally ignited in a boat carrying high explosives, detonating fuses and ammunition. There was great danger that the enemy would learn of the attack. In spite of blinding smoke, fire and the imminent danger of death, Ensign Parle boarded the craft, snuffed out a burning fuse and, unable to put out the smoke-pot, seized it in his bare hands and threw it over the side. He died from inhaled smoke and fumes. Says the citation, "He prevented grave damage to the ship and personnel and insured the security of a vital mission." He received the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Maynard H. Smith is a Sergeant in the Air Corps, from Caro, Michigan. On his first bombing mission over continental Europe, his plane ran into bad trouble. Says his citation:

> The airplane was hit several times by anti-aircraft fire and cannon shells of the fighter airplanes, two of the crew were seriously wounded, the aircraft's oxygen system shot out, and several vital control cables severed when intense fires were ignited simultaneously in the radio compartment and waist sections. The situation became so acute that three of the crew baled out into the comparative safety of the sea. Sergeant Smith . . . elected to fight the fire by himself, administered first aid to the wounded tail gunner, and alternately manned the waist guns and fought the intense flames. The escaping oxygen fanned the fire to such intense heat that the ammunition in the radio compartment began to explode, the radio, gun mount and camera were melted, and the compartment completely gutted. Sergeant Smith threw the exploding ammunition overboard, fought the fire until all the fire-fighting aids were exhausted, manned the workable guns until the enemy fighters were driven away, further administered first aid to a wounded comrade and then, by wrapping himself in protecting cloth, completely extinguished the fire by hand.

For what he did on his first mission, Sergeant Smith received the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Major Kenneth Bailey of the Marines, from Danville, Illinois, was in charge of a company at Henderson Field, Guadalcanal, during the early days when recapture of Guadalcanal by the Japanese seemed likely. During a night attack by the Japanese, Major Bailey was severely wounded in the head. In spite of this, he went on *for ten hours,* repeatedly leading his troops in fierce hand-to-hand combat. It is believed that his magnificent courage and inspiration to his men were largely responsible for the ability of the Americans to hold Guadalcanal. Major Bailey died of wounds as a result of this battle. He was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Elmer Burr, of Menasha, Wisconsin, was a First Sergeant of Infantry serving in the New Guinea campaign. During action on Christmas Eve, 1942, an enemy grenade struck the ground near his company commander. Before it could explode, Sergeant Burr threw himself upon it, smothering the explosion with his body. The company commander was saved but Sergeant Burr lost his life. He was given the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Commander Howard Gilmore, of Selma, Alabama, was commander of a United States submarine in the Southwest Pacific. On a dark night, his ship was on the surface when she was spotted by a Japanese gunboat which prepared to ram her. Gilmore managed to evade the gunboat, and then rammed her instead. With their craft sinking, the Japanese poured a heavy fire into the submarine, wounding Commander Gilmore as he stood on deck. He ordered everyone else below and then as the firing continued, endangering the craft, he gave his last order to the Officer of the Deck: "Take her down." His order was obeyed, and the submarine submerged, leaving Commander Gilmore to drown. He received the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Douglas Monroe was a Signalman, First Class, in the United States Coast Guard, who came from Cle Elum, Washington. A battalion of Marines was trapped by the Japanese on Guadalcanal and had to be rescued, if at all, by sea; Monroe was in charge of a group of small Higgins boats, charged with the duty of taking the men off. With heavy enemy machine-gun fire coming from down the beach, he ordered four of the boats to land and pick up the Marines, while his own craft was placed between these boats and the Japanese, for the deliberate purpose of drawing their fire and protecting the embarkation. Two of his crew were wounded and Monroe was killed, but the embarkation was successful and many lives were saved. He was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Major Lofton Henderson, United States Marine Corps, came from Gary, Indiana. He was a dive-bomber pilot in the Battle of Midway, and led his squadron in an attack on a Japanese carrier. During the attack, his plane was hit and set on fire. "Although he might have escaped by using his parachute, he stayed with the plane and dove it into the smokestack of the carrier, inflicting tremendous damage, but losing his life." Major Henderson received the Navy Cross; Henderson Field, on Guadalcanal, was named for him.

Thomas James Reeves, of Thomaston, Connecticut, was an electrician in the United States Navy. Electrician Reeves was on board a battleship in Pearl Harbor on the day the Japanese came over. Through enemy action, the mechanical ammunition hoists were put out of action; somebody had to get shells to the anti-aircraft guns fighting the Japanese planes overhead, and the only access lay through a passageway which was already on fire. Electrician Reeves carried shells by hand down that burning passageway, until he

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was overcome, and subsequently died. He was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Major Ralph Cheli, of the Air Corps, came from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. In an attack on Wewak, New Guinea, his plane, leading a squadron of dive bombers, was hit and set afire. Though he could have parachuted to safety, he stayed in formation, completed the attack, instructed his wing man to lead the squadron back to base, and crashed into the sea. He was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Private Joe Martinez of the Infantry was born at Taos, New Mexico. Attacking a Japanese position on Attu, Aleutian Islands, the American advance faltered in the face of murderous fire. Private Martinez got up and ran toward the enemy; his comrades followed and the main Holtz Bay-Chichagof Harbor pass was captured. Private Martinez was mortally wounded; he received the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Lieutenant Milton Ricketts, United States Navy, who came from Baltimore, Maryland, was on board the Yorktown in the Battle of the Coral Sea, as officer in charge of the engineering repair party. A Japanese bomb struck the deck, penetrated into the ship and exploded just below the compartment where Lieutenant Ricketts and his men were located. Every one of them was stunned, wounded or killed, and Lieutenant Ricketts himself was mortally wounded. In spite of this, he opened the valve on a nearby fire plug, pulled out some of the hose, and turned a heavy stream of water on the fire, before he died of his wound. By his action the fire was kept under control; it would otherwise have attained serious proportions. Lieutenant Ricketts received the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Clayton Rogers was a First Sergeant in the United States Army Medical Department. The vessel on which he was crossing the ocean was torpedoed. Says his citation:

> Disregarding his personal safety by not even waiting to put on a life belt, Sergeant Rogers went through the passages of the ship to ensure that the living compartments were clear of personnel. He also kicked open several doors which had been jammed by the violence of the explosion, thus liberating the imprisoned occupants.

Sergeant Rogers was drowned when the ship sank. He was awarded the Legion of Merit.

Robert Scott, Machinist's Mate, First Class, in the United States Navy, came from Massillon, Ohio. During the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor he was a member of a group stationed in a compartment in the USS California, in which an air compressor was situated. Through enemy action, the compartment was flooded and the remainder of the group left. Scott stayed there. Said he: "This is my station and I will stay and give them air as long as the guns are going." He died alongside the air compressor, and received the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Lloyd Hughes, of Corpus Christi, Texas, was a Second Lieutenant in the United States Air Corps and participated in a raid on the oil refineries of Ploesti, Rumania. Before reaching the target, his plane was hit by anti-aircraft fire, causing sheets of escaping gasoline to stream from the bomb bay and from the left wing. Ahead was the target, blazing from damage done by American planes in an earlier wave of bombers, with flames shooting into the sky *above the level at which the bombing was being done*. Lieutenant Hughes knew that the gasoline streaming from his plane would almost certainly be ignited when he reached the leaping flames. He could probably have made a safe landing before entering the target area; nevertheless, he continued and the bomb load was dropped accurately. The leaping flames set fire to the plane's left wing; it crashed and Lieutenant Hughes was killed. He received the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Major John L. Jerstad, of Racine, Wisconsin, did almost the same thing at the same place, continuing an attack although his plane was already on fire. He crashed, and was presumably killed, after the bombs had been dropped. He, also, received the Congressional Medal of Honor.

It will be seen that a large proportion of the men I have listed are dead. But this is largely an accident of selection; I could have mentioned many more individuals who have also performed heroic deeds, and are still alive, or were when last reported. The men I have mentioned happen to be in the armed forces of the United States; but I do not doubt that parallel lists could be made for the British, for the Russians, for our other allies—and for that matter, for our enemies as well.

In wartime, we are less likely than during peace to say that war is a horrible and bloody business, the negation of everything that civilization means; but it is still true. I know only one thing more terrible at present than war; it would be for us to let the Fascists have their way. Yet—banal as it is to say so—war has its magnificent moments, too, as these stories prove. If our feet are in the mud, our heads—sometimes—are among the stars. BRUCE BLIVEN

Nuns on a Beach

Black robes and veils they wore,
Half troubled by the wind:
Having exposed their ankles to the shore,
These saints had almost sinned.

But with shells in their palms, shells taken
from the sky's
Reflected beach, each smiled
A gaunt, starved smile. And in the eyes
Of each stood a lost child.

WITTER BYNNER

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Washington Notes

Miscellaneous Matters

SOME OF THE HIGHEST military officials in Washington have said privately that they believe Germany will be defeated in 1944. But that does not mean that Washington is free of invasion jitters. The men on whose shoulders the responsibility rests know that the months ahead, for the Americans at least, will be the most critical of the war. I have found no one who believes, with Lieutenant General Omar Bradley, American ground forces commander in England, that casualties will be light.

Military and diplomatic officials are convinced that Germany will make the greatest fight in her history in an attempt to repel or at least to halt the Allied invasion armies. From the German point of view, it will be the supreme test. The German High Command, knowing that it is defeated, is now fighting for terms; if it can break the original invasion thrust and inflict enormous casualties perhaps it can obtain a peace less onerous than unconditional surrender. If it can do that, Germany will have lost the war but won the peace.

Our airmen are convinced that Germany has a great air fleet ready for use against the invasion. It is not half as large as the British and American air fleets, but it is powerful enough to cause plenty of damage to the Allies. We have been told that the crucial point in the Battle for Europe will come within two or three weeks after the initial landings and after the great air battles have taken place. Within two or three weeks after the first landings the battle that will decide the fate of Germany will begin with a concentrated German counter-attack. That battle, it is said, will last three or four months. The desperate position of the Nazis will make their last stand all the more bitter and determined.

A few days before the appointment of James V. Forrestal as Secretary of the Navy, The Chicago Tribune printed a blown-up page-one story alleging that the "White House Palace Guard" had hatched a "plot" to get Wendell L. Willkie in by the back door. The scheme, said The Tribune, was to have Willkie appointed Secretary of the Navy, then nominated for the vice-presidency.

When the nomination of Forrestal was made, The Tribune announced blandly that the "exposure" of the plot "spiked the Palace Guard scheme to sell Willkie to the President, who distrusts and dislikes the barefoot boy of Wall Streeet." Just think, if it hadn't been for the diligence of The Tribune the Palace Guard might have pulled the wool over the President's eyes!

The first week's debate on the anti-poll-tax bill was a dismal show. The truth is that there was not one Senator sufficiently interested in the bill to make a real fight for it. On the opening day, Senator Pat McCarran of Nevada, one of the managers of the measure, called it up for debate, made a brief argument for passage, then retired from the floor. He spent only a few minutes each day on the floor thereafter.

Senator James M. Mead of New York, the other manager for the bill, did lock horns with the filibusterers, but he was not very effective. He didn't know a great deal about the bill or the arguments for it. He did the best he could under the circumstances.

Absent were such notable liberals as Senators Claude Pepper of Florida, Harley M. Kilgore of West Virginia, Harry S. Truman of Missouri and others. When on the third day of debate the Republicans decided that they should make a show for the bill, they picked Senator James J. Davis of Pennsylvania. He read a brief prepared speech —the first by a Republican—and sat down.

The odds were against the bill from the start. It would have been almost impossible under the best of circumstances to rally the necessary two-thirds vote to adopt cloture and limit debate. The Senate seemed to think that the country was not much interested in whether or not the bill passed. So it rocked along in an easy-going debate. Southerners like Kenneth D. MacKellar of Tennessee and Josiah W. Bailey of North Carolina were allowed to make unchallenged the most far-fetched charges. There isn't much fight in the little group of liberals left in the Senate.

Washington hears the most amazing stories about the pressure being brought upon Mr. Willkie to persuade him to declare for Governor Dewey as the next President of the United States. All the party regulars, as well as Mr. Willkie's business friends, are said to be begging and pleading with him to announce that he will support Governor Dewey for the nomination and election. The columnists are doing their part. Frank R. Kent says it is not "sporting" or "smart" of Mr. Willkie to keep silent any longer. "Actually," says Kent, "there is not today any real difference between Governor Dewey and Mr. Willkie on foreign policy—or, for that matter, on domestic policy."

Many persons, including Kent, apparently believe that. The New York Governor has said that he is for a good foreign policy. That seems to be enough to satisfy everyone except Mr. Willkie and many million other Americans who remember a man named Harding.

Notes: In the midst of the anti-poll-tax-bill debate, MacKellar, with one of his best oratorical flourishes, told the Senate that he "was born a working man." No one bothered to ask him his trade. . . . Washington correspondents have been asked not to speculate as to when the invasion will begin. I think the enemy might be more confused than ever if that ban were lifted. The guesses I have heard from myself and from my colleagues range from tomorrow morning to next January. I can remember some who said last January. . . . There's not an M.D. among us, but after the President's first press conference we all gave him a clean bill of health. . . . Despite the great secrecy imposed, there are signs that progress is being made toward a solution of the Polish boundary issue. Reports from Undersecretary of State Stettinius after his London trip as well as reports from Ambassador Harriman, who has just returned from Moscow, are encouraging.

Washington T. R. B.

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Humphrey Cobb

I WONDER HOW MANY New Republic readers have heard of the death, in Manhasset, New York, on April 25, of Humphrey Cobb, known to most of them, I am sure, as the author of an unforgettable novel, "Paths of Glory."

Humphrey was suffering from the heart ailment which caused his death (a heritage of his soldiering in the Canadian army in World War I), when I first met him in Hollywood. Over the years since then I came to have the greatest possible admiration and affection for this doughty, flush-faced, amusingly irascible little man with his clipped speech, tart judgments and inevitable rightness about issues and persons. Confined by his illness, he liked to have me bring my friends to his home, first in Brentwood and then in Flintridge. I brought all manner of persons: Otis Ferguson, Robert Dell, Louis Adamic, and many others; and they were invariably deeply impressed.

The author of one of the most bitterly anti-war novels of our time, it was interesting to witness, at close range, how, as the crisis deepened in Europe, he became a militant interventionist (long before Pearl Harbor, long before the Nazis attacked Soviet Russia). In fact, this man, who knew as much about the horrors of war and who loathed war more than anyone I have ever known, was denounced in Hollywood, prior to the Nazi invasion of Russia, as a "war-monger"! Near as he was to death, ill as he was, he *wanted* to fight in this war. He actually suffered, most acutely, because he could not shoulder a gun and get back, once again, into a uniform. During the strenuous period immediately preceding the Munich crisis, he sat glued to his radio, in a state of feverish excitement, listening to every broadcast. When it became apparent that Neville Chamberlain had capitulated, his indignation was boundless. He worked for weeks on a letter to Chamberlain—and a great document it was—in which he renounced the dual British citizenship which he had acquired by service in the Canadian army.

In one of his novels, E. M. Forster refers to what he calls the "symbolic moments" in life: the moments when a person must speak out in order to save his soul. Humphrey Cobb met these "symbolic moments" with more courage and firmness—and he was quicker to recognize them as being genuinely important moments—than anyone I have ever known. No matter what the occasion, how old a friend the other person might be, or how embarrassing the consequences, he could not remain silent on these occasions. The letters that he was in the habit of writing, as the one to Neville Chamberlain, were not written for the press (he never thought in such terms); but were written out of a deep and overpowering conviction that a man should never hesitate to denounce an act or utterance which he knew to be morally wrong. He once enlisted my assistance in a campaign he was waging against a large railroad system which he thought, and of course he was right, had attempted to swindle him. Involved in the matter was, as I recall, the sum of $16.83. Almost anyone else would have said "skip it" or dropped the matter; but not Humphrey. Before he was through with the issue, the leading West Coast official of the particular railroad called in Flintridge to offer his most abject apologies. I often felt, watching Humphrey, that the presence of about two dozen such persons in the world might conceivably change the course of history.

After the publication of "Paths of Glory"—a great success—he started to work on a novel about the Tom Mooney case (Mooney was still in San Quentin). It was tentatively titled "Without Remedy." With his usual thoroughness and eye for detail, he investigated every ramification of the case. He spent weeks, months and years plotting the course of the projected work. Then, on the occasion of the Western Writers' Congress in San Francisco, he met Tom Mooney for the first time. I noticed immediately that he was disappointed: the man was not quite like the character he had imagined. Later, after Mooney was pardoned by Governor Culbert L. Olson, Humphrey could not conceal his distaste for Mooney's subsequent conduct and statements. He decided, with characteristic abruptness, not to finish the manuscript; and he never looked at it again.

The last time I saw him—in New York a few weeks before his death—I renewed a suggestion previously made, namely, that he should write a novel about a man, of approximately his own age and background, who had fought for four years in the First World War and who then found himself, contrary to all that he had ever thought or imagined, back in France again with the British forces in 1940. He said that he, too, had thought of such an idea. He had saved a newspaper account of British veterans of the last war who found it difficult to adjust themselves to the fighting in France in the spring of 1940. The landscape was painfully familiar, but they were facing the wrong way. If he had written this novel, I believe it would have been one of the great novels of our age, for its subject is the great tragedy of the period. And Humphrey could have written this novel as it deserves to be written. Those old battlefields in France had a fatal fascination for him. He revisited them on two occasions: once shortly after the Armistice, when the devastation had not been repaired, when the old trenches in which he had fought still gaped at the sky. He told me that he could remember sections of a particular trench, landmarks on a particular field. Then, after traveling in Africa, he again came back to the same scenes, several years later. By that time, the fields were covered with beautifully waving wheat and the trenches had disappeared. He had great difficulty in recognizing even the villages in which his regiment had been billeted. He told me all of this apropos of my relating to him how Ambrose Bierce used to revisit the scenes of the battles of the Civil War in which he had participated. Humphrey said that these battlefields in France had for him the same fascination that Shiloh and Chickamauga had for Bierce.

We hear a lot these days about making a peace that will justify the sacrifices of the men who are now fighting for democracy all over the world. But we should not forget those older veterans of World War I, men like Humphrey Cobb, who, as a youngster, went to Canada to enlist long before this country was at war. Just as he was quick to realize then that this was one of those "symbolic moments" in history, so, years later, he was quick to recognize another and greater danger.

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I sincerely hope his publishers will reissue "Paths of Glory," for its author described war as few Americans have ever described it. It will unquestionably rank with "The Red Badge of Courage" and the best of Bierce and will never be forgotten by those who have read it. Nor will Humphrey Cobb ever be forgotten by those who were fortunate enough to know him. There are times when I think that the kind of integrity which he possessed, as a writer and as a man, has almost vanished from the world.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS

Creep House

"GASLIGHT" presents the creepy plot, taken from Patrick Hamilton's play, "Angel Street," of a wife (Ingrid Bergman) being systematically driven out of her mind by her husband (Charles Boyer) while he looks for some precious jewels that he failed to find when he murdered her aunt years before. The method of the husband, who is himself unconvincingly insane in his attachment for precious jewels, is to undermine his wife's belief in herself in every way—he steals her jewelry and then accuses her of having absentmindedly lost it; he proves to her that she is also capable of stealing from him; each night the gaslight in her room peters out and noises start which scare her out of her wits but which she has been told are her own hallucinations; he keeps her penned up, friendless, in a depressing London apartment and then hires a maid to plague her to death. The effect of his treatment is just about to do the trick when a kind detective (Joseph Cotten) steps in and saves her sanity.

Up to about the time that the detective starts dogging the husband's footsteps, the picture builds a good, convincing, morbid relationship between the man and his wife out of a series of conversations, and acting bouts within them, among Boyer, Miss Bergman and a maid, who is acted at a fine, surly, unbecoming level by Angela Lansbury. The quality of the Victorian rooms where these bouts occur is such as to give you the right feeling that the wife is also being buried alive; the pace is a dreary, lifelike one, and the complications of the husband's Iago-like maneuvers and his wife's being caught by them—somewhat too accommodatingly—are worked out with an unusual degree of emotional subtlety for the movies. A lot of the credit for the quality of these scenes is due to Miss Bergman, who is able to strike variations of hysteria, perplexity or love that make actually static episodes seem more than adequately flexible and meaningful. It is true that she is one of the few actresses who are expected—and allowed—to do this in films. Her acting zeal and ability sometimes run her on unnecessarily, like a runner who is unable to stop immediately after finishing a race, but she gives a nice rendition of an unwary and unworldly woman being hurt and bewildered, and, in the first part of the picture, her more notorious ability to portray the most adoring and lovely of wives makes the nature of the tragedy and the cruelty seem even more extreme.

As the film progresses, it is loosened up to include a stock detective mystery involving stereotyped mystery problems, people who act the oldest kind of detective-fiction personalities, and devices that are supposed to be hair-raising but are only reminders of what may have scared you in your childhood. The melodramatic turn events take is in the interest of bringing out Miss Bergman's character alive, but it turns what had been a moving duel of two people's wits into a laboring, distraught organism which will remind you of the kind of mystery stories Earl Derr Biggers used to write. For the most, however, it is morbidly successful and has a good deal of intelligent writing and direction—plus, of course, Miss Bergman.

MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

A new tax form on which bootleggers will report sales to the state tax collector under the new "black market" law will be distributed to prospective taxpayers before May 15, when the first return is due, Tax Collector Carl Craig announced yesterday.—*From The Biloxi (Mississippi) Daily Herald.*

So serene [the bride] in her opulent heirloom gown. But inwardly she's aquiver. "What a moment," thinks she, "for a MARLBORO!" . . . so smooth, so rich, so comforting.—*An advertisement in House and Garden.*

ITALIAN GIRLS BECOME BLONDES
Want to Please Yanks, Writes Lieutenant Thomas—Pitiful Sights Described

—*Head and subhead in The New York Sun.*

Democracy in Action: Legal Division

Registration Supervisor Dekle [of Tampa, Florida] insisted during the registration period that the Texas decision did not concern Florida and instructed his registrars to list Negroes only as Republicans.

"If their cards bear a Democratic preference, either the registrar erred or the Negro changed the card himself when the Texas decision was announced," he asserted. "Negroes will not be allowed to vote as Democrats."—*From The Tampa Daily Times of May 2, 1944.*

Happy Days!

Price of penicillin was reported by Coghill to have dropped from an initial figure of $20 per hundred thousand Oxford units to a present one of $3.25. This, he said, will go lower and soon will bring disease within the reach of all.—*From The Chemical and Engineering News.*

On the Home Front

The war has now reached a point where the danger of Germany becoming a dominant world power has greatly lessened, but the danger of Russia becoming the master of the European mainland, through control of "Middle Europe," has greatly increased. Her aims have been made clear by her declared policies to bring about the disintegration of Europe and thus obtain postwar mastery of all Europe. So in spite of brave talk about "unconditional surrender" this development might cause Britain and the United States to reconsider their position toward Germany.—*From an editorial in American Business.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping.—THE EDITORS

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Correspondence

The Shame of a Nation

SIR: The Nazis are simply murdering the civilian Jewish population in gas chambers or starving them to death in Poland. Nothing is being done about this here or in Great Britain. So long as the Nazis do not kill Americans interned in Germany, we treat them with all consideration. Nearly 150,000 Nazi prisoners have been transferred to this country. They are treated with the utmost consideration, excellently fed, clothed and boarded. They can send to, and receive from, Germany letters (and even packages). I, in spite of being an American army officer, am unable to send word to my mother in Poland, because the Nazis do not permit Red Cross messages to be delivered to Jews. I don't even know where my mother, or brothers, or sisters are hiding in Poland—if they are still alive. They are Jews. And they do not have American citizenship. So they are being hunted and have to hide under assumed names. Otherwise they would be killed in gas chambers by the "supermen" for the crime of being Jewish and for the misfortune of not having American citizenship, which, for Jews, is the only way to survive Nazi terror in Europe.

Something seems wrong. Why does nobody protest, and I mean protest with force, with a big stick, this wholesale murder in Poland? Why do we make distinctions between American and non-American civilians in Europe in preventing the Nazi supermen from committing wholesale murder?

Why don't we insist that all civilians be protected by international law? That Red Cross messages and packages be delivered not only to the lucky Americans in Europe, but that others may also have this blessing assured? Some day historians will judge our attitude and our actions. Never in the history of mankind has such slaughter been committed while the rest of the world turns its back on the helpless victims.

Memphis, Tenn. G. L.

Women in the South

SIR: You have so often applied your pen with fearless directness to social and economic inequities in the South that I am moved for the welfare of my region to call your attention to the lack of opportunity in the South for women. Although the problem is nationwide, it is, like soil erosion, farm tenancy and race relations, acute in the South. Regional in scope, and linked with the teacher shortage and the survival of the liberal arts, this injustice has been passed over by the Southern experts, educators and writers.

Consider, for example, the typical state university of the Southeast. Actually, it is a university for men, which, for reasons of budget and enrolment, allows women undergraduates to "creep and climb into the fold." Women assistants and teaching fellows are practically nonexistent in the graduate schools of these universities. The productive woman scholar and professor is almost unknown; the woman administrator—classified as such—is a rarity.

A recent survey of the status of women at the University of North Carolina reveals startling conditions. . . . For the last three years, the ratio of graduate assistantships for men and women respectively was 90-10; 88-1; 17-6. The increase in the number for women the last year is due only to the absolute unavailability of men. It is significant that in the liberal arts, *dependent now upon women for their very existence*, aid for graduate women students was negligible. The same survey graphically reveals the lack of opportunity for the woman professor, found only in departments where state appropriations are or have been supplemented by private endowment or government grants. . . .

Denied any semblance of equality of opportunity for higher study in the land of her birth; denied equality of opportunity in the profession of her choice; denied equal pay for equal work, the Southern woman in ever increasing numbers reluctantly leaves the beloved region for which her grandmothers fought and worked through patient generations. The regional aspects of this problem can no longer be ignored.

University of Hawaii, Honolulu, T. H. KATHARINE LACKEY

To Aid John R. Longo

SIR: Your readers must have experienced deep indignation upon reading Willard Wiener's article, "Hague Is the Law," The New Republic, January 31, which vividly portrayed a dictatorial city government operating brazenly and ruthlessly in a democratic nation, which at this moment is fighting with all its resources to end that kind of tyranny throughout the world. It was the story of Jersey City and Mayor Hague's continued disregard for liberty and justice.

One of the instances of bold persecution mentioned in the article and widely protested throughout the nation was the case of John R. Longo, who faces an 18-months-to-three-years prison sentence. An investigating committee appointed by former Governor Edison has produced documentary and scientific evidence which shows Longo to be the victim of a frame-up.

To obtain Longo's permanent freedom, his case must go to the state's supreme court. A hearing is scheduled for the near future and money is still needed for the printing of briefs and other legal costs. The two lawyers representing him are volunteering their time, energy and general services.

Already scores have responded from all parts of the nation, but not quite enough to meet the total requirements. The Longo Defense Committee seeks to gain permanent freedom for a man whose only crime is that of independence in a terror-ridden community. It hopes also to destroy a system of dictatorship that is cutting into the roots of democracy. The Committee's address is 574 Jersey Avenue, Jersey City, New Jersey.

Jersey City, N. J. THE REV. GEORGE G. HOLLINGSHEAD

From The New Republic Mail Bag

The attention of our readers in the New York City area is invited to the Conference on the Scientific Spirit and Democratic Faith which will meet at the Ethical Culture Society, 2 West Sixty-fourth Street, on May 27 and 28. With John Dewey as honorary chairman, discussions will be held on such subjects as "The Authoritarian Attempt to Capture Education," "Democracy and Education," "Can Free Communication Be Achieved?' and "Science and the Humanization of Society." A registration fee of $1.50 for the conference or 50 cents for each session will be charged. Detailed information can be obtained from Jerome Nathanson at the address given.

The American Free World Association calls our attention to a special exhibition of drawings by Luis Quintanilla, May 15 to June 2, at the Knoedler Galleries, 15 East Fifty-seventh Street, New York City. Mr. Quintanilla, the well known Spanish painter, has interpreted "Totalitarian Europe" in water-color drawings and black-and-white sketches.

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By OSMOND K. FRAENKEL

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A Footnote on French Prosody

THE LAWS that govern the writing and reading of French verse are among the most notable survivals into our own era of institutions developed in an earlier stage of society. Spoken French has been changing, I think more rapidly than any other language of Western Europe. Written French has been changing too, as anyone can see by comparing Malraux's style (not to mention Céline's) with that of any novelist before the First World War. But the rules of prosody, at least until very recent years, have remained the same. Codified by Malherbe in the early seventeenth century; enforced by the great example of Racine; strengthened by all the generations of poets who observed them in essentials, even while they argued vehemently for minor reforms; kept fresh in the public ear by the traditional diction of the French stage, they have persisted into our own century, carrying with them the formal atmosphere and the intonations of the court at Versailles. Since they have also served as discipline for some of the greatest modern poets, whose work cannot be understood without them, I propose to discuss them briefly and a little in the manner of a professor lecturing to his class.

In the beginning, the rules of French prosody were based on the specific nature of French as a spoken language. Unlike Latin, it never had a system for determining which syllables were short and which were long; therefore French verse could not depend on anything resembling the Latin quantities. The language did have accented syllables, but the stresses were comparatively weak, and it is doubtful whether they have grown much stronger with the years. They fall on the last syllable of a word or group of words expressing a simple idea: for example, the French say "ma*tin*" if the word stands alone, but "matin se*rein*" and "matin serein de la *gloi*re" if it occurs in a group. The trouble is that French speakers disagree on what constitutes a group of words; in the last phrase I quoted, most of them, but not all, or not on all occasions, would place a secondary accent on "se*rein*." There is enough uncertainty, in any case, so that it would be difficult to write French verse based on a regular pattern of accented and unaccented syllables. The experiment was made, with others, by some of the Symbolist poets, but it was never continued through a poem of any length.

Since French verse could not depend on definite quantities or regular accents, it was reduced from early times to the simplest possible system of measurement: it counted the syllables in a line. Each of them had an equal value, no matter whether it was light or heavy, short or long. Today, however, the syllables are not always the same as they would be in prose. The prose rule has come to be that an "e" without a mark of accent is not pronounced unless it has been preceded by two or more consonants in succession. In poetry the mute "e" is counted as a syllable (and is pronounced by the careful reader) unless it precedes another vowel or falls at the end of the line. André Gide once illustrated the rule by writing a line containing eight mute "e's," not counting the feminine ending: "*Je ne le ferai plus, dois-je te le redire.*" In prose it would have only eight syllables: it would be pronounced, "*Je n' le f'rai plus, dois-j' te l' redire.*" In verse it would be an extremely weak but quite orthodox twelve-syllable line.

There are many other customs by which the language of poetry is set apart: for example, consonants at the ends of words are often sounded in verse where they would be silent in conversation. The poet—unless he is a rebel—never uses a word ending with a vowel (except the mute "e") before another word beginning with a vowel: thus, he doesn't say *j'ai à aller* or even *j'ai été*, to mention two of the commonest French expressions. Two vowels coming together form what is called a "hiatus," and this is conventionally supposed to be ugly, although in speech it has a rather pleasing sound.

Lines of French poetry can be of almost any length desired. In Laforgue they often consist of two syllables; in Louis Aragon's latest book, "Les Yeux d'Elsa," there are lines of twenty-four that are perfectly regular (unlike Paul Fort's fifty-syllable verses). Most lines have an even number—eight, ten or twelve—but Verlaine preferred the *impair* and wrote verses of seven, nine and eleven syllables. The one general rule is that a pattern should be established in the first stanza and followed throughout the poem. But in French poetry as a whole, twelve-syllable verses, known as alexandrines, are the prevailing measure. It was the one that Corneille, Racine, Hugo, Baudelaire and most of the other great French poets after Villon adopted by preference.

Two other features of French verse that help to compensate for its lack of strong rhythm are definitely placed cesuras and heavy rhymes. In English the cesura, or pause within the line, can occur after any syllable, even the first or the ninth of a ten-syllable verse. In French it has a fixed position. The cesura of an alexandrine is supposed always to follow the sixth syllable and thus to divide the line into two equal parts, each known as a hemistich. Since the last syllable before a cesura receives a stronger accent, the general effect is to impose a metrical pattern. The Romantic poets tried to change that pattern. In the course of their attacks, they succeeded in budging the cesura, but they didn't really shift its position.

Unlike English, the French language is rich in rhyming words; so rich, in fact, that a medieval poet named Pierre de Corbian wrote 840 successive lines ending with the same sound (it was *ens*). But fearing that this liberty of rhyme would lead to laxness, the French poets have voluntarily restricted themselves by obeying a whole series of more or less arbitrary rules. For example, masculine rhymes (those ending with a consonant or an ordinary vowel) must alternate with feminine rhymes (ending with a mute "e"). This is a rule that appeals to the eye, but in most cases not to the ear, since there is no more difference between the pronunciation of *mer* and *mère*—to mention one instance among thousands—than there is in English between "stair" and "stare." Another rule for which there is still less justification is that words ending in a consonant, even if it is silent, cannot be coupled with words that end in a vowel: thus, *doux* and *d'où* form an illicit pair, even though the sound is exactly the same. "These distinctions," says the Grand Larousse, "may appear somewhat subtle; nevertheless our best poets have observed them."

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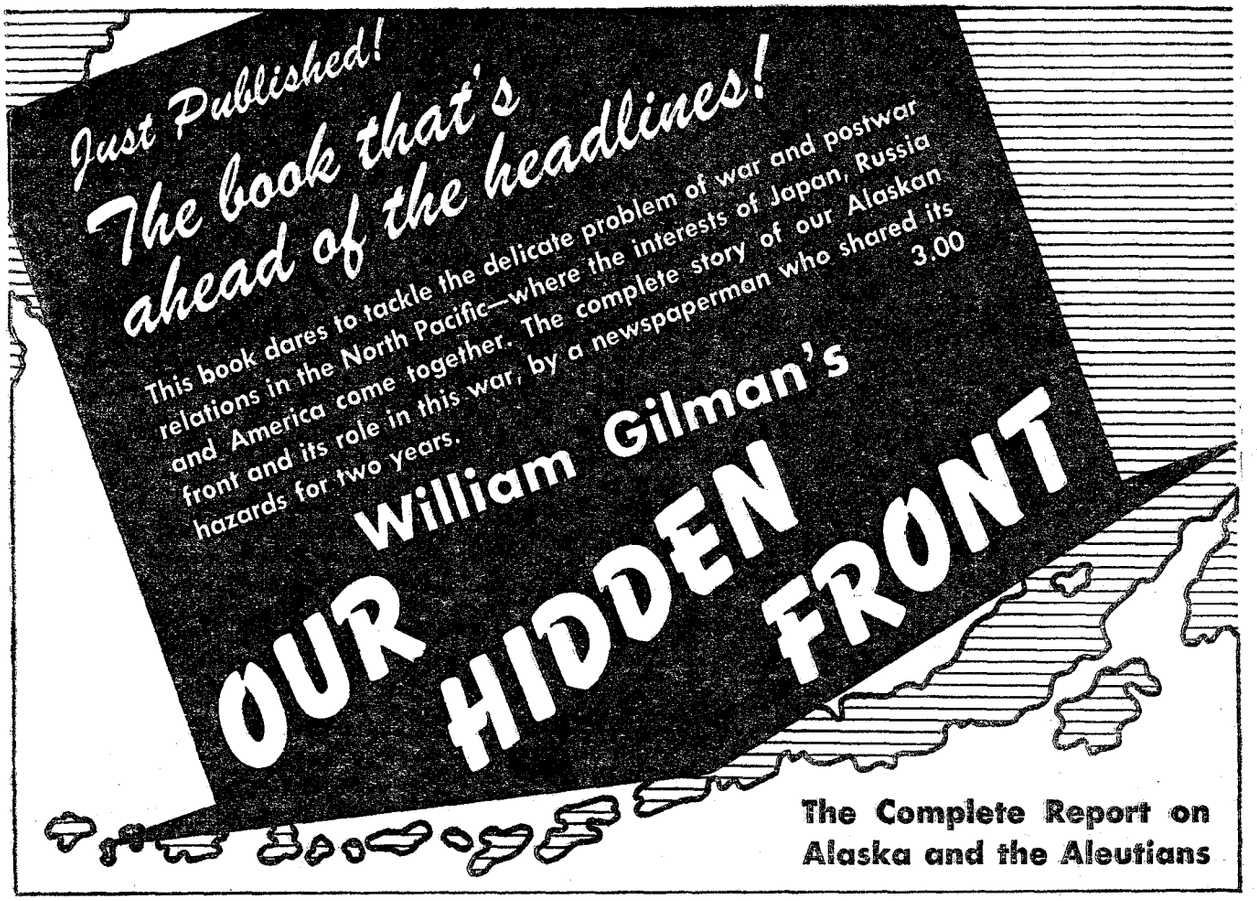
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WHY WOMEN CRY or Wenches with Wrenches

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The strongest of our English rhymes would be classified in French as "sufficient" (or passable), while many of the others in standard use would be dismissed as either "poor" or "defective." The French prefer what they call "rich" rhymes. In English we call such combinations "identical" or "perfect" and, curiously, we have a rule against using them: thus, we don't rhyme "vain" with "vein" or even—unless we are careless—"bay" with "disobey." But the French couple *regarde* with *hagarde*, *roseaux* with *oiseaux* and *cieux* with *silencieux*, to mention three of the examples from Mallarmé's "L'Azur." Moreover, they regard this complete identity of final syllables as a characteristic of finished workmanship.

As time goes on, the traditional laws of French verse are coming to appear more and more artificial. The separation between poetic and popular speech seems almost as sharp to a foreigner as that between colloquial Chinese and Mandarin; and one sometimes wonders whether it didn't serve as the basis for the Symbolist distinction between art and life. That distinction is becoming harder to maintain at a time when French poets are directly involved in life. There is some question whether the old laws of verse can survive a general disaster like the French defeat in 1940, which brought everything into question. Long before that time, the folk poets were omitting mute "e's" in reckoning the length of their verses. Learned poets, in the midst of a lyric revival, are busy constructing new prosodies; and Aragon recently developed (and wrote a book of poems partly to illustrate) a completely new system of rhyme. It may be that rules based on current speech may gain general acceptance. Or again, the situation might come to resemble that in the later Roman Empire, when classical poems and hymns in Vulgar Latin were being written simultaneously. Meanwhile the old rules must still be mastered by anyone who wants to enjoy Racine or Hugo or Baudelaire.

MALCOLM COWLEY

Books in Review

Greek Gold and Dross

THE FIRST VOLUME of "Paideia"[1] interprets the development and formation of the "consciously pursued ideal" of the Greeks from Homer through the principal figures of Greek literature and thought up to the end of the Fifth Century B. C. The two later volumes are largely concerned with the interpretation of Socrates and Plato as the greatest figures in the evolution of the Greek cultural ideal. By bringing together the various elements of Greek culture, which have usually been studied separately, the three volumes constitute a new and valuable approach to the understanding of the Greek ideal of man and his relation to society. The study amply justifies itself in this sense.

There is, however, another important aspect of this work which is the concern of the present review. Professor Jaeger has not been content to study the Greek educational or cultural ideal, which has been so influential in the development of Western culture, as a purely historical problem. Published in Berlin late in 1933, the first volume of "Paideia" directed the attention of a troubled world to the lesson of Greece. Professor Jaeger wrote at that time: "But at this juncture, when our whole civilization, shaken by an overpowering historical experience, is beginning to examine its own values once again, classical scholarship must once more assess the educational value of the ancient world." Indeed, we must do this, it was asserted, because ". . . it is impossible to have any educational purpose or knowledge without a thorough and fundamental comprehension of Greek culture."

If this is true, then it is of the utmost importance to discover what Greek culture can teach us. A preparation for what the modern world can learn from the Greeks is contained in the following introductory remarks to Volume I:

> Inevitably, towards the end of a historical period, when thought and custom have petrified into rigidity, and when the elaborate machinery of civilization opposes and represses man's heroic qualities, life stirs again beneath the hard crust. At such times, a deep-seated historical instinct drives men not only to rediscover the primitive qualities of their own racial stock, but also to live once more in that earlier age when the spirit of Greece (with which they have so much in common) was still fervently alive, and from its ardent life was creating the forms which eternalized its ardor and its genius.

Professor Jaeger intends to portray the "heroic qualities" of our "racial stock" as they appear in the Greek tradition. Such a study will trace the ". . . main lines of a historical pattern, a true cosmogony of values, an ideal world which will survive the birth and death of states and nations." Although significant changes take place in the development of the Greek cultural ideal, there is at the same time an "identity of spirit," arising from the "unsolved secrets of heredity, blood and race," which allows us to discern a "true cosmogony of values" in the very context of change.

What is this cosmogony of values without which we can have no educational purpose or knowledge? Concerning the very earliest period of Greek society, Professor Jaeger writes: "Homer's poetry brings out one fundamental fact: that all culture starts with the creation of an aristocratic ideal shaped by the deliberate cultivation of the qualities appropriate to a nobleman and a hero." This is intended as more than a historical generalization; the aristocratic ideal is the supreme, comprehensive value whose true nature we can discover by studying its development from Homer to the later Greeks. We learn that "The aristocrats in particular doubted whether education could be universal. Pindar and Plato never fell under the democratic illu-

[1] Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture, by Werner Jaeger. Translated from the German by Gilbert Highet. Vol. I (1939), 426 pages; Vol. II (1943), 422 pages; Vol. III (1944), 374 pages. New York: Oxford University Press. $10 the set.

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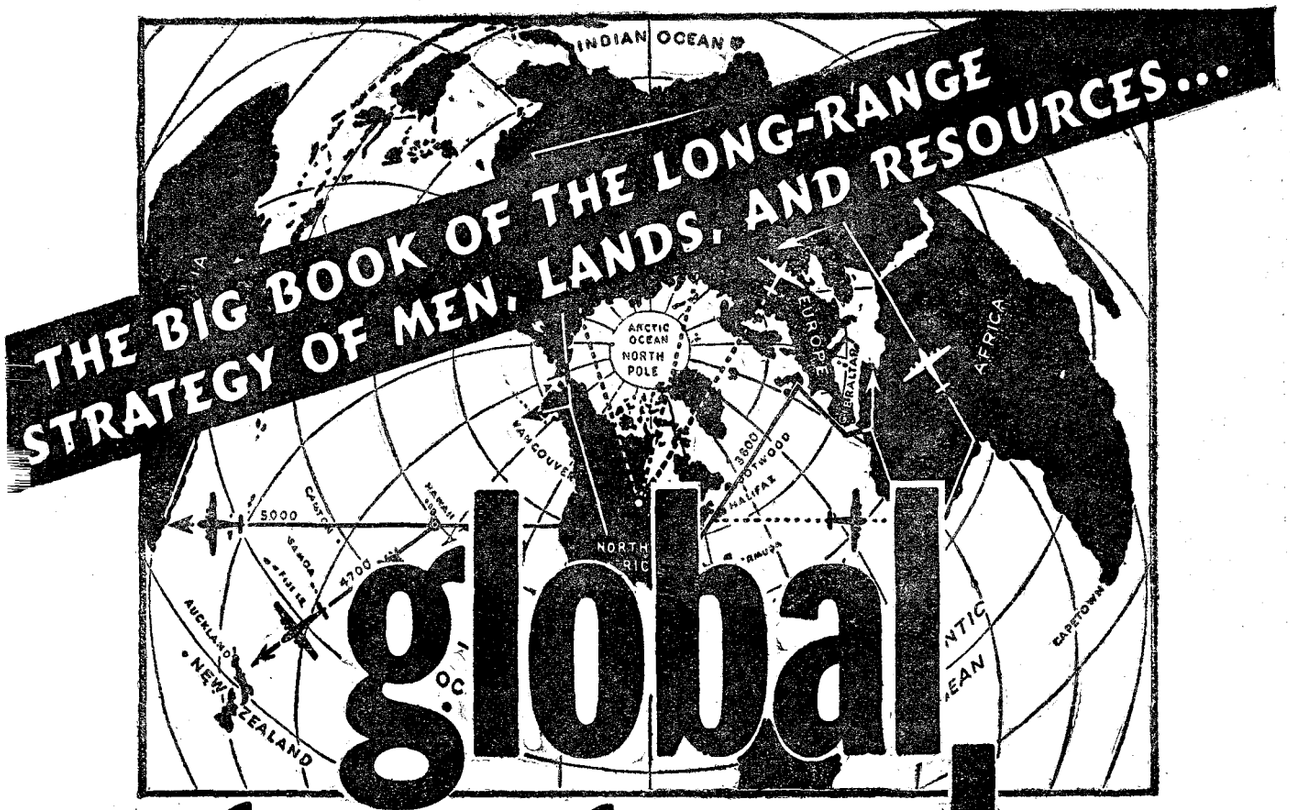
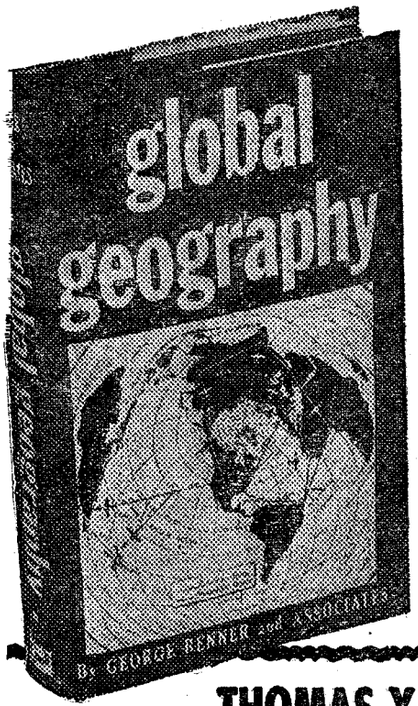


global geography

by George Renner

Teachers College, Columbia University, and ASSOCIATES



EVENTS are inescapably tied to specific places. The battle of Waterloo was fought not just at some site in Europe; it took place between the Ardennes Highlands and the North Sea in the gateway from eastern to western Europe... The battle of Stalingrad occurred not at just another place on the Russian steppes; its location is important because it was fought at the gateway of the world's Heartland... Our failure to fortify the island of Guam did not mean merely that it was left unprotected. It meant that when war with Japan came, the Philippines could not be reinforced. In this new book, thirty specialists range widely over the subject that affects 80% of the decisions we and our representatives must make. The author, a leading expert in the field, is a widely known contributor to *Collier's* and *American.*

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sion that reason can educate the masses." The nature of this true cosmogony of values is strikingly revealed when Professor Jaeger writes: "The encroachment of *bourgeois ideals* upon life meant to Euripides' contemporaries something the same as the encroachment of proletarian ideals to us. . . . That was just the type of debasement which his opponents most violently attacked."

In a chapter on the Sophists, Professor Jaeger admits that these important thinkers could have arisen only in a democratic state where the aristocracy's exclusive claim to knowledge was challenged by the people in their need to solve the problems of the democratic state. But the Sophistic movement is interpreted as a deviation from the true course of the aristocratic ideal, which finds itself again in Xenophon, Isocrates and Plato. In repudiating democracy and attempting to rehabilitate the aristocratic ideal, these great figures reached conclusions ". . . which are infinitely valuable guides in any similar situation in later ages." On the other hand, the Sophistic effort to democratize knowledge was doomed because ". . . the democratic principle was bound to develop *ad absurdum* whenever the democratic state attempted to be more than a strictly regulated system of ratifying the decisions of its representatives, and really became the domination of the masses." It will be seen to what degree Professor Jaeger distrusts the democratic principle if it is remembered that the Athenian democracy was highly restricted and was based upon a slave population.

It need scarcely be pointed out that the failure of the Athenian democracy is proof of no general principle, and, least of all, a basis for concluding that the "domination of the masses" was the cause of Athens' inability to maintain its supremacy among the Greek city-states. It is true that some Sophists raised doubts about the very presuppositions of the Greek aristocratic tradition. (They challenged the institution of slavery, for instance.) In doing so the Sophists expressed some of the ideas which were, centuries later, to become the foundation of a new, democratic paideia. Indeed, as Professor Jaeger points out, the Sophists believed that man is educable and potentially good. They, therefore, abandoned ". . . the aristocratic idea that character and morality can be inherited by blood. . . ." From this "illusion" of humanism we must turn to Plato for the truth.

Volume II of "Paideia" extends this cosmogony of values by centering the discussion around the personality of Socrates and the "ethical" teaching of Plato. Identifying himself closely with the ideas of Socrates and Plato, Professor Jaeger writes a sympathetic and brilliant interpretation of these philosophers. Socrates, it is pointed out, opposed the democratic principle of majority rule, and defied its authority. But Socrates did not try to change the state by external reform; he sought to accomplish his reforms by developing the moral sense of his students. He was a saver of souls. To Socrates came the sons of the displaced aristocracy who found his criticism of the existing state to their liking. Following the older Greek tradition, Socrates was convinced that education is essentially political, and for the few, for only the few can grasp the ultimate values of life. This meant for Socrates the "reëstablishment of the inward moral authority of the polis" in the individual. This is the older aristocratic conception of society transformed into an order of society dominated by those who know what is best. This knowledge, as Professor Jaeger very ably explains, was by no means exclusively rational. Socrates constantly appealed to something beyond reason: "From this faith in God there grows up, in Socrates, a new form of the heroic spirit, stamped from the very beginning by the Greek ideal of areté." It is religion which will restore society.

This conception of the unity of Church and State is developed by Plato in the "Republic" and the "Laws." Plato admired Sparta, a state governed by a ruling class with an educational system devoted to maintaining the elite in power, but, like Socrates, he wishes to transfer this aristocratic state to a religious basis. The ideal state will produce the ideal aristocrat, a man devoted to God, and, through God, to the state. Such an individual will be ordered by Divine Law, just as the state in which he appears must already manifest Divine Law. In a remarkable section of Volume II, entitled "The State Within," Professor Jaeger shows how Plato's thought developed into its final form. "In the effort to reform the polis, he [Plato] originally held that this self-reformation of the individual must be the starting-point of a comprehensive new order. But ultimately he realized that the inner depths of the soul were the last refuge of the irresistible will to *law* which had founded the city-states of early Greece, and now had no home anywhere in the world." Thus, as the culmination of the Ninth Book of "The Republic," Plato turns away from the state as hopeless, and finds salvation in a spiritual retreat. This is the ultimate form of Plato's thought on the state, and, we must conclude, following Professor Jaeger's thesis, the greatest lesson which Greek culture can offer the modern world.

The third volume of "Paideia" develops the interpretation of Plato both indirectly in the study of contemporary intellectual currents in Athens, and directly with a discussion of Plato's "Phaedrus" and "Laws." Of particular interest is the extended discussion of Isocrates. This interesting figure, who set up a rival school to Plato's Academy, hoped to restore the state by reforming education, but, unlike Plato, he believed in creating an intellectual aristocracy based on "opinion" and "common sense." It is significant that Isocrates thought it quite possible to champion the old aristocratic ideal on these very practical grounds. Indeed, as one proceeds to Professor Jaeger's discussion of Plato's "Laws," which is the climax of the three volumes, it becomes clear that Plato himself returned to the tradition of the old aristocratic society not on the grounds of conclusive demonstrations of its validity, but on the basis of the "opinion" that the "primitive Greek view of life" was the best. It seemed to him to express "Divine Order." "In the strictly theocentric character of paideia taught by Plato in his later period, all the unanswered problems (the *aporiai*) of his earlier books are solved at last." But these problems are resolved by invoking "Divine Order" for such assumptions as: "the noble must rule the ignoble"; "masters must rule slaves"; "the better must rule the worse"; "thinking men must rule the ignorant." Plato elaborates a system of education in "The Laws" which will realize these assumed principles under the sanction of religion. Thus, Professor Jaeger concludes, "The perfect design for living

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given in 'The Laws' is nothing so much as the year as conceived by the Catholic Church, with its holy rites and liturgies laid down for every day."

Plato considered that society was beyond repair, and could offer it only "the type of poetry it needed." To offer the world poetry in place of thought is in keeping with a theme which Professor Jaeger emphasizes throughout "Paideia": "Philosophy cannot live by pure reason." As in many views which seek to *restore* "order," the modern world is told by Professor Jaeger to retreat from reason, and, what is worse, to retreat from reason on a false conception of what can be concluded from a single instance of historical development. The Greek cultural evolution cannot be taken, on any recognized standards of scientific thought, as a basis for a generalization about all cultural development. The democratic tradition, the new paideia, long ago repudiated all aristocratic traditions. To bring the democratic paideia to fruition requires the hardest, most critical thinking. Such a task does not, of course, preclude the appreciation of Greek culture. Augustine, under different circumstances, gave the correct advice: plunder the Greeks of their gold, but leave the dross. JOHN GOHEEN

Recent Books on Russia

USSR: The Story of Soviet Russia, by Walter Duranty. New York: J. B. Lippincott and Company. 293 pages. $3.
Russia and the United States, by Pitirim A. Sorokin. New York: Literary Classics, Inc. Distributed by E. P. Dutton and Company. 253 pages. $3.
The Rainbow, by Wanda Wasilewska. New York: Simon and Schuster. 230 pages. $2.50.

IN KEEPING WITH ITS SUBTITLE, Walter Duranty's "USSR" is the story of Soviet Russia from the arrival of Lenin in Petrograd in 1917 to the departure of Hull from Moscow in 1943. In the role of dispassionate observer of the greatest of revolutions, he guides the reader through the mazes of the civil war, Nep, the Five-Year Plans, the purges and Stalingrad, enlivening the journey in Duranty fashion with anecdotes, fables and what he calls his own fancies. Occasionally forgetting he is just an unemotional English spectator, he vigorously inveighs against some misconception about the Soviets.

One of the oft-repeated truisms that are not true is that the Communists are but a tiny fraction in the vast population of Russia. They are if one counts just the 4,300,000 members and "candidates" of the adult party. But, as Duranty points out, there is also a junior party of at least 10,000,000 members—the Comsomol—with most exacting duties and discipline. Under its tutelage are the still more numerous Young Pioneers, imbued from their earliest years with Communist ideas and doctrines. Counting them all—as one must in any reckoning on a census basis—the Communists comprise not two percent of the population, as is usually stated, but nearly 20 percent, and still more if one adds the millions of what Stalin calls "the non-party Bolsheviks," sometimes more active and ardent than party members.

While tracing the chief developments within Russia, the author seeks to show how they were affected, almost deter-

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mined, by events abroad. Thus the purges and executions are closely linked with the rise of the Nazis to power and their plans for the conquest of Russia. "The man-made famine" of 1932 was precipitated by the extraction of all available grain, boots and gasoline to prepare the Red Army for a threatening Japanese invasion. Nevertheless, in the shaping of history the author assigns a leading role to the elements of luck, accident and individuality. It was the powerful personality of Lenin that gave a Marxian turn to the revolution which at the outset was primarily national. It was the absence of Trotsky from Lenin's funeral that lost him his hold on the masses, not that his program was alien to them.

Readers will take issue with Duranty on these and other points, as I do with his picture of the abject ignorance and apathy of the pre-revolutionary peasant masses. That makes the book the more stimulating, for throughout Duranty thinks as he pleases, intrepidly revising some of his earlier thoughts in the light of new knowledge. While giving the pedants a few slight inaccuracies to quibble over, as an up-to-date account of Russia's passage from a "larval state of revolutionary pariah through a cocoon period, half-friend, half-foe, to its full acceptance as an ally and great power," this is by all odds the most absorbing and illuminating book on the subject.

In his erudite and provocative "Russia and the United States," Professor Sorokin assails a score of "myths" about his native land from that of the peculiar Slavic soul to the myth of the backwardness and stagnation of the tsarist regime. Contrary to general notions, it was advancing rapidly in industry and education; enjoyed essentially all the freedom of press, religion, assembly, unions; its laws and courts were humane and idealistic, and the government was incompetent rather than despotic and oppressive. Very plausible, but if tsarist Russia was as good as Professor Sorokin says, one wonders why there was any revolution at all.

If he magnifies the old order, it is not to belittle the new one. To him the Soviet regime is the "greatest and most original socio-political innovation of this century." It has eliminated the last vestiges of racial discrimination, made impressive advances in chemistry, biology, medicine, social insurance, cinema; by 1940 it had risen to second place in the world output of oil and metals; to first place in grain, manganese, artificial rubber; in railway mileage it "practically rivaled" that of the United States. This last is a slip; Russia has only 53,000 miles to 236,000 miles in the United States—an index of how far the Soviets have still to go in this as in other fields before "overtaking America." Professor Sorokin is confident that after the war the swift industrial advance of Russia will be resumed because it has "the resources, the energy, the brains and everything else." He is equally certain that this does not mean economic friction with America, as the two countries are not rivals, but complementary.

In "The Rainbow," a novel by Wanda Wasilewska, head of the Union of Polish Patriots, the canvas narrows down to a single Ukrainian village, occupied but never conquered by the Germans. Numbed by the Arctic cold, with fear dogging their footsteps and death peering at them from "a thousand icy eyes," the frustrated Nazis resort to ever more cruel measures. This only further steels

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the will of the village, converting it into a strongpoint of resistance, sapping the strength and morale of the invaders. The solidarity of these peasants, their capacity for collective silence or action, their cunning in outwitting the Nazis, may seem a bit exaggerated. But to one like myself who has long sojourned in Soviet villages and has never known a peasant to reveal anything he really wanted to conceal, it is highly authentic and credible.

In this story of one village one gets some concept of what occurred in thousands of others, as well as an insight into the great concern of the Russians over their western frontier. Across it, twice in a generation, have surged these pillaging, burning hordes from the West. They are determined that this shall not occur again. As one means of preventing it they want strategic frontiers and friendly governments in neighboring countries, which to most readers of this book would seem neither arbitrary nor unreasonable.

All three books are good reading, and especially to those who whisper confidently, "Some day we shall have to fight Russia," highly recommended reading—if they read books at all.

ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS

Tailpiece

FOR BAD TASTE, bad criticism and phony "patriotism," someone lurking behind Time magazine's jerky anonymity took whatever prizes were offered during the week of May 8 for those attributes. Under the happy title "Introspective Stinker," Saul Bellow's novel, "Dangling Man," is sneeringly distorted and its author set down as a slacker. Time's brave finger painter tries to make something of the fact that Bellow "is not in the army"; are we to assume that the author of the review wrote from a foxhole on Rockefeller Plaza?

Bellow's novel needs no defense, but I am afraid that its distinction alone assures it a small audience in a nation that reads the Luce publications by the millions. For the majority of readers the only indication of the existence of "Dangling Man" will be the snide little comment in Time. I hope that inadvertently Time's sad smear will lead some of those millions to Bellow's book; the nature of the attack upon it alone should be a recommendation.

GEORGE MAYBERRY

A Reader's List

WAGE STABILIZATION AND POSTWAR SECURITY (United Automobile Workers, CIO, General Motors Department). This pamphlet presents with considerable detail five of the major issues discussed by the UAW in its brief to the War Labor Board. One section is a broadside attack on the Little Steel formula and the Bureau of Labor Statistics' cost-of-living index. The arguments are in the main quite the same as those presented by Harold Ruttenberg in The New Republic of April 10. Yet one must accede to labor's contention that quality deterioration and upgrading have had a marked effect on living costs. The reply of the Bureau of Labor Statistics has been at best an academic one. The other points raised in this brief are broader in scope. They ask the crucial question, "Where will labor be during the transition to peace and after?"

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Labor's answer is that only equal pay for equal work based on an industrywide wage agreement, a guaranteed work week or guaranteed wage, a postwar-employment-security fund and a basic minimum hourly wage will assure its position in the postwar economy. The proposals are buttressed by many cogent arguments and some really incisive analyses. Has management any better proposals to make?

THE OUTLOOK FOR SYNTHETIC RUBBER, by Melvin A. Brenner (Pamphlet No. 32, National Planning Association, 25 cents). What we plan to do with our synthetic-rubber capacity after the war will reflect our entire approach to postwar industrial adjustment. This pamphlet seeks to provide the broad background necessary for an intelligent determination of policy. The writer presents a brief but sufficiently detailed explanation of the technical features of the different kinds of synthetic rubber and discusses in an interesting manner the recent history of the industry and the difficulties of wartime expansion. The factors that will determine the level of competition between the natural and synthetic product are weighed carefully. It is suggested that economic competition may generate enough pressure to create another tariff lobby. It cannot be denied that such a possibility exists. With 95 percent of synthetic plant capacity ultimately owned by the government, we should be able to avoid a repetition of pork-barrel politics. We do not have, however, a clearly defined postwar policy; without it this war-born industry may become another link in the chain of monopolies and cartels.

THE WOUNDED GET BACK, by Albert Q. Maisel (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50). The author spent six months in the South Pacific observing the wonders of war medicine and discovering why such a very large percentage of the wounded (97 percent according to the OWI) recover. The book is an interesting account of the successful application of medicine and surgery to the specific needs of modern warfare on our ultra-modern hospital ships and in base hospitals. The author describes the careful preparations made on combat vessels to meet any emergency and the conscientious work of our navy doctors, for whom he has nothing but praise.

Contributors

HELEN MERRELL LYND is a member of the Social Science faculty of Sarah Lawrence College and co-author, with Robert Lynd, of "Middletown" and "Middletown in Transition." Her book, "Toward Positive Freedom: England in the 1880's," will be published by the Oxford University Press this fall.

GEORGE W. NORRIS, dean of American liberals, represented Nebraska in Congress, first in the House, 1903-13, then as Senator, 1913-43.

WITTER BYNNER, poet and playwright, is the author, among other books of verse, of "A Canticle of Pan" and "Indian Earth."

CAREY MCWILLIAMS is a Los Angeles attorney and was formerly the California Commissioner of Immigration and Housing. He has just been awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship to make a study of the functioning of organized religions as social institutions in the United States.

JOHN GOHEEN is chairman of the Department of Philosophy at Queens College, New York.

ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS was the special editor of the "Russian-American Frontiers" issue of The Survey Graphic. He is the author of many books on Russia, the latest of which is "The Russians: The Land, the People and Why They Fight," published last year by Harcourt, Brace.

JOSEPH E. DAVIES

former Ambassador to Russia, says,

"Walter Duranty has done it again"

U.S.S.R.

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